



Language and Power

**The Implications of Language
for Peace and Development**

Birgit Brock-Utne & Gunnar Garbo, Eds.

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Birgit Brock-Utne and Gunnar Garbo, (Editors)



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This book is intended as a textbook for students in political science, policy studies, peace studies, development studies and socio-linguistics. We also hope it will be of interest for the general public. We have chosen Mkuki na Nyota in Tanzania out of the solidarity with African publishing. This publishing company is a part of the African Books Collective, which has an office in Oxford, UK, and collaborates with Michigan State University Press.

The chapters and articles presented in this book all deal with language. They have all been presented either as keynotes, plenary panel talks or papers in parallel sessions at the IMPLAN (Implications of Language for Peace and Development) conference held at the University of Oslo on the 3rd and 4th of May 2008. We here want to thank the students, especially Line Kjølstad Gran, who functioned as the conference secretary, for their great work in making the conference a success.

It was sad to get the news about the sudden death of two of our most dedicated authors, Haroub Othman and Roger Avenstrup, before the book was published.

We want to thank the Faculty of Education at the University of Oslo, the Norwegian Research Council through the Network for Research and Evaluation in Education and Development (NETREED) project and NORAD for the generous economic support which made the conference possible. NETREED was a network for Norwegian based researchers and evaluators in education and development (<http://www.netreed.uio.no>). It was led by Birgit Brock-Utne and supported by the Norwegian Research Council for seven years from 2001 through 2007. Permission was given to transfer a smaller sum leftover to 2008 and support the publishing of this book. For that we are grateful.

The conference was organised by Birgit's students and was held to mark her shifting of scene from a fulltime professor at the Institute for Educational Research to a more independent academic, researcher and consultant. She will continue to have an office at the Institute for Educational Research and be engaged in some teaching and especially tutoring of Ph.D. and Master students connected to her LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) project which will go on until 2012. She has accepted an offer for the first part of 2010 to teach at Wartburg College in the US and help build up a peace studies programme there.

LANGUAGE IS POWER

By Birgit Brock-Utne and Gunnar Garbo

“When I use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, “it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.” “The question is,” said Alice, “whether you can make words mean so many different things.” “The question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “which is to be master - that’s all.”
(*Carroll 1871*)¹.

Introduction

Humpty Dumpty in the children’s book *Alice in Wonderland* written more than a century ago teaches Alice that language is power. It is a question of who has the power to define concepts, to “name the world” as Robert Arnove says in his article in this book. Language can be used to conceal meanings, to distort facts. The same phenomenon can be given different names depending upon who does the naming. The same person may be called a freedom fighter by some people and a terrorist by others for committing exactly the same acts.

As mentioned in our “acknowledgements” most of the chapters and articles in this book were presented at the IMPLAN (Implications of Language for Peace and Development) conference held in Oslo in May 2008. The three plenaries at the conference were preceded by three keynotes. The plenaries as well as the keynotes concentrated on main research fields in Birgit’s academic career, peace studies,² education and development,³ and African languages as languages of instruction⁴. The first two of these academic fields are also fields in which Gunnar has published extensively, though mostly in our native tongue, Norwegian. When it comes to peace studies, see e.g. Garbo (1975, 1995 and 2003). When it comes to development studies, see e.g. Garbo (1985, 1993 and Brock-Utne and Garbo (eds) 1999).

For this book we have given the three keynote speakers: Carol Cohn, Steven Klees and Kwesi Kwaa Prah, each around 20 pages to develop their chapters. Carol Cohn introduces the discussion on the language in the security discourse, Steven Klees introduces the discussion on development speak, while Kwesi Kwaa Prah introduces

¹ The real name of Lewis Carroll was Charles Lutwidge Dodgson. Through the Looking Glass is the sequel to *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865)

² see e.g. Brock-Utne (1985, 1989, 2000a, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d)

³ see e.g. Brock-Utne (2000b, 2002a, 2006, 2007a, Brock-Utne and Tungesvik (eds) 2002)

⁴ see e.g. Brock-Utne (2001a, 2002b, 2003, 2007b, Brock-Utne and Hopson (eds) 2005, Brock-Utne and Skattum (eds) 2009)

the discussion on the language of instruction in Africa. At the IMPLAN conference there were also a number of parallel sessions dealing with topics like: The discourse of Globalization, indigenous knowledge, language of instruction in other colonial contexts, the language of the courts, the Nordic languages as threatened academic languages, the language of evaluation, and the difficulties of publishing in Africa. Around 60 papers were presented. We have as editors picked out some of these papers which together could shed a broad light on the topic Language and Power. We have asked the presenters to submit revised and shortened papers. The panel and parallel session presenters picked out were given from 6 to 12 pages to develop smaller articles. The choice of presentations, the partial rewriting of some of the articles and translations (from French and Swedish) have been done by us.

Language in the Security Discourse

During the Cold War the Norwegian parliament changed the name of its “Military committee” to *Defence committee*, which seemed to sound more reassuring. But the term “defence” is also dubious, not least in a world where nuclear powers like the US and other NATO member states insist on their right to use thermonuclear bombs, while seeking to prevent “rogue states” from imitating them with any weak copy. Can anything be defended through the use of atomic weapons?

In the dominating security discourse this question is neglected through the euphemistic language which defence intellectuals have developed about military weapons. Abstract terms which symbolise real weapons conceal the reality of these weapons and how they would function under real-world conditions. This professional terminology makes questions from concerned citizens seem uninformed and naive. In the “rational” expert speak human beings, human deaths and suffering, dying humans, are made invisible, as Carol Cohn points out in her eye-opening chapter about International Security, Language and Gender.

Carol Cohn stresses that when the term *security* is used in what is called “security discourse”. it means something totally different from daily concerns. It does not refer to the social and economic conditions and relations within which people live. It is a discourse which has as its principal referents “weapons” and “war”. The closest thing to “peace” which may be uttered is “strategic stability”.

Cohn discusses this discourse at three levels. First she demonstrates as shown above the specific language which is being used to disconnect defence intellectuals from the very realities which they are dealing with.

Secondly, she looks at the language used by security experts and politicians to warn against “nuclear proliferation”. This term does not mean a multiplication of nuclear weapons, “new generations” of weapons i.e. in the nuclear arsenals of the USA. It means nuclear weapons in *other peoples’* hands, described as primitive, rogue and unpredictable. This racialised imagery serves to legitimise the responsible self having weapons which should be denied primitive others. Of course this kind of rhetoric serves to make the possession of nuclear weapons even more attractive to the have-nots.

Thirdly, Carol Cohn looks at Security Council Resolution 1325, which was adopted in October 2000 after interventions from feminist activists to give women a voice on the issue of needs and rights when it comes to armed conflict. The resolution calls for special measures to protect women from sexual and gendered violence and to respect women’s rights to participate at all levels in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building processes. This is certainly a new language in the Security Council. Carol Cohn is hopefully right in looking at the resolution as a launch point for a wider “women peace and security agenda”.

But Norwegian experiences demonstrate how military defence politicians may twist even the language of Resolution 1325 to promote further militarisation at the national level. The Minister of Defence used the resolution to legitimise an initiative leading to the conscription of women to military service. As a matter of fact, the SC resolution does not call for women to participate in war fighting on a par with men. But the Minister referred especially to the resolution’s mentioning of “military observers”, stressing the adjective and not the noun. In an article the editors of this book have criticised the co-option of this resolution by the military establishment (Brock-Utne and Garbo 2007).

In his learned article *The problematic securitisation debates*, Lothar Brock points to the risks of *securitisation*, which he sees in the tendency of peace researchers and activists to demonstrate that a focus on non-military threats like poverty or natural catastrophies is a better way of promoting human security than military build-ups. In this they are certainly right. But for both moral and political causes development aid should for example be promoted for reasons of solidarity, not presented as a way to avoid wars. Using security – a term long expropriated by the military establishments – may seemingly give them an apparent reason to expand their own activities.

There is no doubt that the armament complexes are today using dangers previously met by civilian bodies as arguments for increasing their own budgets. NATO refers to perceived threats such as climate changes, Globalization, computer attacks, migrations or breaks in the flow of resources as reasons for strengthening its forces. Challenges of this kind are best managed through the use of peaceful means and international cooperation. To which extent the *securitisation* discourse within peace circles has contributed to the opposite tendency and to which extent the military

establishments would have found their new tactics smart, anyhow, is a question worth further investigation.

In connection with the first Gulf War President Bush sr like Humpty Dumpty proclaimed: "What WE say goes." The administration of his son followed in senior's footsteps. As Gunnar describes in his article about SELLING WARS, Ron Suskind, a columnist who had investigated the White House for a long time, happened to mention the intellectual principles of empiricism and enlightenment in a conversation with a presidential adviser a year after 09/11. "That's not the way in which the world really works anymore", was the answer he got. "We are an empire now, and when we act we create our own reality. And while you are studying that reality, we'll act again creating other new realities, which you can study too. We are history's actors, and all of you will be left to just study what we do."

If we undertake the study the presidential adviser recommends us to do, we discover how much the military powers lie about security matters. Bush and Blair started their war against Iraq in order to liquidate the country's weapons of mass destruction, which did not exist, and to finish Saddam Hussein's support to al-Quaida, which had never existed either. When foes become friends or vice versa, terminology has also to be modified. The representatives of the USA originally stigmatised the Kosovo-Albanian UCK-gerilla as a terrorist organisation. When Washington saw fit to support the terrorists in order to punish Milosevic and delete Kosovo from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the UCK suddenly became fighters for a just cause. As a rule main Western media easily adopt that type of new speak. President Bush delivered another prominent example of the new speak when he started his war on terrorism.

What is terrorism? The UN General Assembly has defined it as the use of violence against a population in order to pressure its leaders to change policy. Hitler of course did that i.e. by his bombing of London and his mass murders on Poles and Russians. But it is also what the allied powers consciously did towards the end of the Second World War, killing several million civilians by the fire bombings of German cities and the atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They have never asked to be forgiven for this cruel use of state terror.

Neither have they accepted the term. In their speak terrorism is violence performed by resistance movements, the poor part's weapon, exemplified by suicide bombers, who have never been able to produce atrocities which could be compared to the enormity of State terror. What has happened in Abu Ghraib, Guntanamo and by reckless bombing of Afghan civilian areas is neither defined as terror, but as efforts by democratic states to pacify war ridden countries in Central Asia. The same we are told about Israel's bombing of Palestinians in the Gaza strip.

Berenice Carroll demonstrates that feminists have opposed the "war on terrorism" since 11.09.2001. As early as September 16, Sumaya Farhat-Naser of Palestine and

Gila Svirsky of Israel, women who “refuse to be enemies,” wrote jointly to President Bush to deplore the attacks and call for an end to the cycle of violence. On September 17, Susan Sontag repudiated the “self-righteous drivels and outright deceptions being peddled in the US by public figures and TV commentators.” She rejected the language used to characterise the events as a “cowardly” attack on “civilisation” or “liberty” or “humanity” or “the free world”, and argued that they were rather an attack “on the world’s self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions ,” such as the ongoing bombing of Iraq: “If the word ‘cowardly’ is to be used, it might be more aptly applied to those who kill from beyond the range of retaliation, high in the sky.”

Evelyne Accad, who has suffered through the wars in Lebanon, discovered while being treated for breast cancer that the “fight” against the illness was described in a language adopted from war making. It was as though her body had become a battle field. At the same time she draws another connection: Between 1975 and 1992 Lebanon was torn apart by a civil war fed by many countries worldwide that profited from sales of weapons to various militias, sometimes to both sides, regardless of alliance. Some militias in exchange for money and weapons buried nuclear waste products in various parts of Lebanon. The Lebanese population is now paying the price with a rise in cancers of all kinds. Cancers of the mind and heavy depressions plague the youth that have had to deal with the war. And then Israel hit in response to Hezbollah capturing of two of their soldiers, and managed to destroy the whole infrastructure of the country, polluting the air, sea and land, leaving behind millions of fragmentation bombs. It will take years for Lebanon to come out of these disasters.

The Discourse on Globalization

The term Globalization is ambiguous. Sometimes it is used simply to describe increased human interactions through travels, studies abroad, dissemination of music, literature, movies and exotic foods, as well as the arrival of the internet. But in present national and international politics Globalization is first and foremost a term that denotes the radical change that has taken place in international economic relations and politics during the last twenty five years, promoted by the breakthrough of neo-liberalism. Opening national borders everywhere for the unhindered movement of capital, goods and services these policies have turned most of the world into one single, gigantic market on the premises of transnational corporations, denying poor peoples the right to use such protectionary measures that the rich countries guarded themselves with during their own industrialisation. The global financial crises which was unleashed in 2008 by reckless speculations in the USA is a telling reminder about other risks inherent in neo-liberalism.

The international anti-Globalization movements claiming that another world is possible are attacking this kind of Globalization. This is also what we are dealing with in this book. A striking feature of this Globalization is that the process is seemingly automatic. What this means is that it is driven by actions of capitalistic forces, helped by politicians who falsely feel that the hidden hands of these forces are the best means to create prosperity and economic stability. Their states have more or less abdicated from economic governance. Thus the shaping of the world is increasingly left to forces which have no democratic mandate and are not responsible to the peoples. Few countries, if any, have carried out a political process where the pros and cons of Globalization were weighed and evaluated in a wide-ranging public debate, whereupon a considered choice was made by the parliament. Nowhere was a decision made to dismantle the welfare state and create a world market where democratic bodies had no say. It was just allowed to happen.

Another crucial aspect of the neo-liberalistic proclamation of open borders is that the free movement does not include the most important items: human beings. Even if the right to move is considered to be fundamental, persons are excluded from the neo-liberal agenda, something which is contrary to basic liberal principles. One reason is simply that rich countries in the North try to prevent an influx of other people from the South than the ones they happen to import to perform dirty and low paid jobs. Another reason is that the transnational corporations profit from wage differences, which permit them to use cheap “manpower” in the South to produce goods and services for the North. Here rich states and corporations have joint interests, which they hide behind euphemistic rhetoric about the blessings of what they call free markets. The result is that human beings are denied the freedom to move, which is limited to the marketing of capital, goods and services.

According to the advocates of neo-liberalism their market policy is benefiting the whole population. What is happening in practice is the contrary. Economic and social differences grow tremendously.

Globalization tends to reinforce existing inequalities, including those of gender, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, age and disability, which Jill Bystydzienski shows in her article. Not everybody is able to gain in a brutal competition for resources, jobs and profits. Some are becoming millionaires or milliardaires. Others are left at the bottom, poor, jobless and powerless. A new class society is emerging, with all that this implies for lost solidarity, divisions, antagonism and criminality.

As noted by Paul Vieille in his article such social degradation is naturally providing a fertile ground for terrorist actions. And who is to blame? But at the same time Paul draws attention to an extraordinary change which has emerged, largely unnoticed, because it has arrived gradually, hardly visible: the widespread consciousness raising about the existence of the world as such and its unity. Thus we are dealing with two processes concomitantly. We are both dealing with the phenomenon of Globalization

which in fact is limited to the level of exchange of goods, money and services, and the process of consciousness raising, which implies that people do not acknowledge any borders. This last process rests in the old notion of a unity of humankind.

Macleans A. Geo-JaJa describes the experience of Africans being exposed to the economic restructuring imposed by the international financial institutions. Imposing change from the outside cannot work according to the plans and promises of the neo-liberalists. In 1999, Africa's population represented 50 per cent of the poorest global decile, whereas in 1970 its share was 16 per cent. Also, 39 per cent of Africans were found in the lowest global decile in 1999, compared with 17 per cent in 1990. Research on education and development shows that illiteracy and education poverty is higher in Africa than in any other region of the world. It is at the same time the only continent on the globe where the majority of children are taught through a language they do not understand (Brock-Utne 2000, 2001a, 2003). This has tended to contend the development process as it entails a series of constraining measures in addition to making efforts for material improvement: a populations political awareness, social development and cultural growth.

Also between nations differences grow as a consequence of present Globalization. Poor developing nations have small chances to gain in a competition on the world market with transnational corporations which may dispose larger financial resources than states in the South with millions of mouths to feed. In spite of that the World Bank and the IMF are using the debt trap in which these countries are today caught to pressure them to apply even more of the neo-liberalistic prescriptions which have brought them into the trap. As Judit Balazs notes, Globalization is not a process to unify free nations; it is a process which forces nations into one hierarchical system, with the rich ones on the top.

Development Speak

In 1970 the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 2688 (XXV) with consensus. The resolution declared that the UN Development Programme should base country programming on national development plans or, where these did not exist, on national development priorities or objectives. "It is recognised," the resolution stated, "that the Government of the country concerned has the exclusive responsibility for formulating its national development plan". The recipient should be in the driver's seat, we were told. However, that seat turned out still to be occupied by others.

Development aid is still a power relationship between givers controlling the purses and recipients having the choice between accepting the preconditions of the payers or abstaining from their paternalistic charities. Neglecting the United Nations system and the principles which they had endorsed by the resolution rich Western countries channelled instead an overwhelming part of their aid through

bilateral channels and financial bodies dominated by themselves. Developing countries were forced to implement economic and political measures which locked them into a global economic system established in conformity with the interests of their rich benefactors. The World Bank and the IMF became main vehicles for this restructuring, using conditionalities attached to loans and debt arrangements as crowbars.

Instead of lessening the burdens of developing countries the restructuring increased their difficulties. While poor countries were obliged to open their own markets for international competition, they had themselves little or no access to the markets of the North. The abolition of state interventions and protectionary measures in poor countries led to closure of firms and increased unemployment. The prohibition of subsidies contributed to new social problems. Poor countries were simply unable suddenly to master unlimited competition with the rich world.

In 1986 a High Level meeting of the OECD adopted a document entitled *SHAPING THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. The Role of Development Cooperation*. This document introduced a new, promising language. It talked about *partnership*, *local ownership* and *participation*. Was this the introduction of a new policy? Were the recipients now allowed to adopt development plans which they owned themselves? Were they to become egalitarian partners in shaping the twenty-first century? Not at all. The document had been adopted by a meeting of ministers from the rich OECD countries. The governments of developing nations were kindly asked to feel ownership to it. They were invited to internalise a document boasting about participation without having participated in forming it. During five decades the donor countries have been talking about recipient responsibility, using this concept mostly to blame the recipients for failures. At the same time they have told the developing countries to respect the principles of democracy. But they have never stopped dominating the development agenda, seeking to shape the future of poor peoples the way their “partners” find suitable for them.

The field of education offers numerous examples of the twisting of language, making positively loaded words cover facts which would have met opposition if they were expressed with truer terms. *Empowerment* was for instance a radical project launched in the 1960s and the 1970s, focusing on building countervailing power to enable excluded groups to mobilise and claim their rights. When the term was picked up by the neo-liberal development discourse it came to mean involvement in the market. Poor people were to be empowered through their shopping and marketisation of services that once were their basic right, as Steven J. Klees points out in his chapter about the language of education and development.

“Partnership” suffered a similar fate. Normally it signifies joint and equal participation in decision making between two or more partners. But in the language and practice of donating powers it turned out to mean something else. While the World Bank

invited almost the whole world to become partners in the implementation of the *Education for All* programme (which has been deemed a failure), predictably "the partners" were at most consulted. All decision making resided as usual in the Bank. But by pretending to give grassroots a say the Bank achieved one more objective. It managed to diminish the role and legitimacy of the public sector, in conformity with the neo-liberal preference for minimal states.

Educators and social science workers have strongly criticised the World Bank's call for investments in *human capital*. In that way human beings are evaluated in terms of money. Steven Klees points out that in the capitalistic reasoning of the Bank some forms of education are more *efficient* than others, giving larger *rates of return*. By presenting human beings as a form of capital the Bank emphasises the education-jobs connection to the detriment of education for other purposes, personal, intrinsic, citizenship. Has a human capital framework led to the current obsession with testing? Klees asks. To what extent has a human capital-based education policy contributed to the reproduction and legitimization of poverty and inequality? Klees expects that the fact that the market now pays someone USD 1.50 for a day of backbreaking work, while others get millions of dollars for their white collar labour, may in the future be looked upon as slavery is considered today. Let us hope that this prediction turns out to be right.

The chapter by Robert F. Arnove follows up this line, demonstrating how a language dominated by terms like *efficiency*, *outcome-based management*, *strategic plans*, *quality control* and *metrics* changes the very concept of education. "Bullshit Bingo" he calls it. The previous dominating themes for the formation of participatory citizens, national unity, international solidarity and individual fulfilment are hardly mentioned. Characteristics of the neo-liberal agenda include the crass commercialisation of schools with business sponsorships, the search for niche markets and the establishment of competitive reward systems for individual teachers and schools based on moneys garnered. Robert Arnove reminds us that Paolo Freire's writings have provided individuals and grassroots movements with the critical insights and means to name the word and change the world. His language about our world is infused with words related to affirming community, habitat, biodiversity, cultural traditions and language rights. Arnove sees these claims and actions – not unlike Paul Vieille – as parts of a transnational movement of "Globalization from below". Regine Mehl lastly reminds readers of the simple fact that whether a society succeeds with its educational system is a question of authentic identity building through the use and the allocation of endogenous teaching material and well-trained teachers with appropriate salaries. This is not achieved through the "know-it-all" policies of the World Bank and the IMF. It presupposes a mutual dialogue-oriented understanding of what global governance should stand for and a decision making where the Southern "partners" are real partners.

Øyvind Østerud points out how the strategy and rhetoric of foreign aid has changed every 10 years or so. Successively, it has been massive capital export (*big push*), top-down diffusion, focusing on the poor, bottom-up participation, recipient ownership, conditionality, institution building and again massive capital export. But during 60 years history of donor-driven foreign aid the correlation between aid and development is not statistically significant. There has been economic growth in countries where foreign aid is negligible, and there has been stagnation or downturn in countries where foreign aid is substantial. Domestic institutions – including the ways and means of using resources to the benefit of the local population – seems to matter more than aid reception. Øyvind notes that the moral appeal of aid policies, like the moral appeal of imperialism, is covering up the realities behind the rhetoric.

Without being paid much heed to, non-governmental organisations and independent scholars for many years have criticised the dominating role of the aid powers, who prefer to be called “donors”, in relation to recipients of development aid. When he was the Norwegian Ambassador to Tanzania Gunnar once attended a meeting in Dar es Salaam, where the Ministry of Finance should present its new Medium Term Development Plan. Ambassadors and resident representatives were waiting a long time for the launching of the plan, and diplomats started joking about the predictably bad performance of the host country. At long last the documents arrived, printed in Washington DC and brought to the meeting by the resident representative of the World Bank. The plan was written as if it had been adopted freely by Tanzania. But the experience indicated where power resided (Garbo 1993).

The Language of Instruction in Africa

In his chapter on the language of instruction in Africa Kwesi Kwaa Prah notes that all societies which have developed towards modernity have done so on the basis of their own cultures and languages. He mentions the experiences of China, Vietnam, Malaysia, India, Indonesia and other countries. Many of these countries were colonial territories in the same way that African countries were. Unlike in Africa development and modernity in Asia is being negotiated on the basis of Asian culture and local languages. He attacks the argument that Africans should use their languages for 3 – 4 years at the primary school level and then move into the colonial languages. He sees this as another way of saying that African languages are irredeemably doomed to backwardness. It is a lie which serves ultimately the maintenance of neo-colonialism, at the cultural level. The idea also implies that the 3 – 4 year foundation is only meant to prepare African children to the later use of the colonial languages. The African languages are just seen as stepping stones to the languages of prestige, just used as a pedagogical device before instruction in the “real” languages can take place.

Kwesi argues that African languages should be used for the entire educational system. That is the only way for the democratic majorities of Africa to develop on the basis of their own histories, cultures and languages and also have confidence, self-affirmation and self-reliance in the production and reproduction of knowledge. He feels that if we do not proceed on this basis, which ensures a democratic approach to the language question in Africa and which empowers the masses with their own languages, we are headed, at some stage, towards a collision between the elites and the masses. We tend to agree with him. In his chapter Kwesi also counteracts the most frequently heard arguments against the use of African languages as languages of instruction throughout the educational system. These arguments have to do with the multiplicity of languages in Africa, an argument he calls: The myth of the African Tower of Babel. Another argument is that the African languages are not developed enough to cope with modern science and technology. He also shows the falseness of this argument as well as the argument that African languages do not make for the so-called “societal unity”.

In his article Adama Ouane follows up Kwesi Kwaa Prah’s description of Africans as multilingual. Individual and national multilingualism are the norm in Africa. Adama Ouane makes a personal journey explaining how he grew up with two to three languages learnt concomitantly. He sees multilingualism as intrinsic to his language acquisition and describes himself as a multilingual individual, living a multilingual ethos. He sees multilingualism as part of his identity formation, his development as a human and social being.

Like the authors in an edited volume in progress (Prah and Brock-Utne 2009) Adama Ouane questions the suitability of current approaches of language learning to serve multilingual settings. He finds that the official monolingualism and the regulated binary bilingualisms are undermining the ground for the spread of multilingualism. Linguists and specialists promoting multilingual education have so far failed to construct more suitable approaches of language learning and teaching building on and resulting into practices of multilingualism, he claims.

When used in educational settings in Africa the word “bilingualism” refers to a situation where one of the two languages is the colonial language and the other language an African language. An African who speaks, writes and communicates well in two African languages is not called bilingual.

Adama notes that Western theories of bilingualism which are influenced by the monolingual habitus are inappropriate when it comes to understanding the multilingual habitus such as the one in African everyday life. Language mediation and translation are common communicative bridges of everyday communication in Africa which are not supported through the formal educational system.

The following article is written by Ingse Skattum. She describes the situation in the 17 so-called francophone countries in West-Africa, stressing like Kwesi Kwaa Prah

and Adama Oaune do that Africa is not English, French or Portuguese speaking. Africans speak African languages. This sociolinguistic situation, where the language of instruction is an imported language spoken by a minority of the people, is, in the so-called francophone Africa, essentially a result of French and Belgian colonisation. Skattum presents some similarities and differences between the francophone countries. She starts her description with the difference between France and Belgium as colonial powers with respect to their linguistic and educational policies. She goes on to describe a common trait of today, *diglossia*, i.e. the difference in prestige and usage between French (the high language) and the national languages, but also between different African languages, where some carry more prestige than others. She then looks at differentiating factors today, ending by some reflections on the future roles for French and national languages as means of instruction. What is special to Africa, is the fact that what she terms "the high languages" (French, English, Portuguese) are minority languages, spoken by few Africans. Skattum makes a point out of the fact that the dichotomy majority/minority languages, which is often used in international research as synonymous to dominating/dominated languages, does not fit the African sociolinguistic reality. European languages, though they dominate, are minority languages.

She mentions another factor which distinguishes Africa from many other diglossic contexts. This is the fact that the high language is an imported language, and thus linguistically and culturally different from indigenous languages. This makes it much more difficult to learn and less apt to express African realities and world-views. Her survey of francophone Africa shows that it is not always clear who decides on the language(s) of instruction. Many factors play a role: the historical context, today's sociolinguistic situation, the educational and linguistic policies of the nation, and people's attitudes. She ends her article on a rather pessimistic note stating that without the authorities' political will to promote national languages, attitudes will not change. People will continue to view European languages as superior to their own, and will resent the introduction of national languages into their educational system.

The researchers within the LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) project do not quite share this opinion. They believe that attitudes may change among people if they get enough information about the educational advantages of using a familiar language, a language children speak and are comfortable with, as a language of instruction. In his description of the conception of the LOITASA project Harold Herman goes back ten years to a meeting between himself and Birgit and their discussion on how to involve South Africa in a project Birgit was discussing with a former colleague at the University of Dar es Salaam, Suleman Sumra. Herman sees the LOITASA project as a success project and states two main reasons for its success.

He mentions firstly that international funders tend to often set conditionalities for the projects they fund which are not necessarily related to the needs of the recipient

countries. This has not been the case when it comes to the South-South-North project LOITASA, where African scholars played the leading role in the development of educational policy research in their own countries, in this case Tanzania and South Africa. He finds after having read the four LOITASA books analytically that they reflect the true, authentic voices of Africa and the language needs of its peoples.

He secondly praises the Norwegian project leader, Birgit Brock-Utne, whom he calls a real Africanist who is “at heart a part of the struggle for African scholarship.” The American Indians had a saying that you should not judge a person until you have walked many miles in his or her moccasins. He finds that Birgit did just that in Tanzania. She learnt Kiswahili while teaching there for a number of years, and championed the cause of the indigenous people. Of course, in pursuing these goals in Africa, there are many criticisms and stumbling blocks, but Birgit persevered in the struggle for the oppressed, often contrary to the instincts of African elites. It is in this mode, that LOITASA was developed in what Harold Herman calls the “Spirit of Bagamoyo”.

Bagamoyo was the place in Tanzania where in the beginning of February 2000 a group of South African researchers met with a group of Tanzania researchers, and Birgit came with the academic and administrative heads of her Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo. This is where the LOITASA project was conceptualised and a research application was drafted and sent to NUFU.⁵ The first five years of the project (2002 – 2006) led to a lot of research on the language of instruction in both of the countries in the South accounted for in four books from the project (Brock-Utne et al 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). Four new books are envisioned in the second phase (2007 – 2011). One of them is in press (Qorro et al 2009). The editors will be the same, three women from three different countries who work well together. They have decided that for two of the new books those published in Tanzania) Martha Qorro will have her name first as editor; for two of the other books (those published in South Africa) Zubeida Desai will have her name first.

In the second part of his article Herman concentrates on the South African part of the LOITASA project. He claims that the pressure of research findings from the LOITASA project and other projects from cultural and advocacy groups has had success in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In 2006 the Western Cape Education Department introduced a Language-in-Education Transformation Plan. Among the targets it set itself were:

⁵ The English title of NUFU is: the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education, see <http://www.siu.no/en/Programme-overview/The-NUFU-programme>. The Fund is administered by Norwegian universities and lately also by colleges in cooperation with universities in Norwegian partner countries. The money comes from NORAD (the Norwegian development agency) but NORAD does not mix into the question of what projects to conceptualise and fund. That decision is taken by the academics in the cooperating institutions. NORAD only mixes into the question of which countries in the South will be on the list of cooperating countries. From 2007 South Africa was no more on that list when it came to support for new projects. The LOITASA project has the following web-site: <http://www.loitasa.org>

- Extend mother tongue education to more pupils through making it also available to speakers of languages other than Afrikaans and English (a goal of the LOITASA project);
- Support the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction till the end of Grade 6 (precisely what the focus of the LOITASA project was); and
- Bring parents on board in relation to language in education policy (a feature of the LOITASA project).

Like the other authors in this section of the book Ladislau Semali is very well aware of the fact that the language question in Africa is all about power, a political choice that lies with governments and global players of geopolitics, aimed at redistributing power, privilege and resources internationally as well as within an African country. A choice of an African language as language of instruction will redistribute power from the African elites to the masses. It will also diminish the power of the donors. Ladislau sees peace as threatened and social development as tenuous when cultural context and the politics of language and identity are ignored. Like Harold Herman he summarises some of the main findings from the LOITASA project. He has concentrated his analysis on findings from the Tanzanian part of the project. He is struck by findings like:

- Lessons conducted in Kiswahili showed an improvement in student participation and performance;
- The majority of students did not understand most of what was taught in English;
- The policy of using English as a medium of instruction in post-primary education seems to be detrimental to meaningful learning;
- The use of English as a medium of instruction bars students from learning effectively and incapacitates some teachers in conducting effective teaching; and
- In practice, majority of teachers use code-switching and code-mixing in their classrooms to make students understand to clarify concepts and give instruction.

These findings he juxtaposes with other findings from the same project showing that

- Even when parents know that their children don't know English, they still insist that English should be the medium of instruction;
- Even though students admit that they have problems learning through English, they reject the idea of introducing Kiswahili as the language of instruction; and
- Students do not want the medium of instruction to be changed even though they understand the lessons much better when they are given in Kiswahili.

To test out these findings, which seem contradictory, Ladislau Semali in 2006 surveyed 230 students at a private university in Tanzania. He found similar contradictions with 97 per cent of the students agreeing that the use of Kiswahili mixed with English was helpful in understanding class lectures and yet 75 per cent of the students disagreeing that Kiswahili should be made the permanent medium of instruction at the university.

There is certainly an educational task to be done by LOITASA researchers as well as other researchers concerned with the future of African education.

Indigenous Knowledge, Language and Culture

This section of the book contains four articles, two drawing on fieldwork in Namibia, one on fieldwork in South Africa and one on fieldwork on the international programmes of the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation and the first Palestinian National Curriculum.

In the first article of this section Jennifer Hays analyses the experiences of the Nyae Nyae community in Namibia which was the site of an innovative and unique mother tongue education initiative, the *Village Schools Project* (VSP), initiated in the early 1990s. Designed in close consultation with the community, and begun in an enthusiastic and supportive environment with generous donor funding, the VSP exemplified best practice of education in the mother tongue and responsiveness to the local culture. Fifteen years after the project's inception, however, the village schools have had little success in the goal of facilitating the transition of Ju/'hoansi students to the government school in grade four, and very few Ju/'hoansi children make it through primary school. Hays asks the question: Why is it that a mother tongue education project with so many advantages should not achieve its goals? Maybe it is the goal that was not the right one? Emphasis on the transition to government school as the measure of success of the project, without attention to the depth of the transition involved, has, according to Jennifer Hays, impeded adequate evaluation of the project and its core problems.

She argues that the Ju/'hoansi expressed pedagogically sound opinions about the way forward for their education and development which included repeated requests for mother tongue, community-based education to continue through higher grades. Most parents expressed the wish that the village schools should go to higher grades, some suggested up to grade twelve. The community members also argued for adult education. Why is it that they have such difficulty making their voices heard? Based on extensive local and regional field research Jennifer argues that dominant global slogans such as *Education for All*, upon which Namibian (and other African countries) current education policies are founded, fail to acknowledge the Ju/'hoansi's *own* strategies for survival, education, and maintaining community cohesion. They thus direct the focus of education and development projects and educational funding

away from some of the most critical concerns of the communities themselves. In effect, the Jul'hoansi's are asking for the application of pedagogical principles that have proven soundness, to their own communities. Vast amounts of evidence indicate that *early exit models* – transfer to a foreign language as the language of instruction within the first few years of school – place minority language speakers at a profound disadvantage. Yet local community members are not listened too.

In his article Rodney Kofi Hopson is also concerned about the low status of the local languages in Namibia. He further asks the question: Why would Namibia, having German and Afrikaner colonialist influences, at independence in 1990 choose English as “monolingual habitus”, a foreign language (spoken by 1–5%) of the population of 1.5 million people, as official language and medium of instruction? He gives several explanations to this phenomenon. The cultural capital of the pseudo-colonial elite in Namibia sets them apart from the vast majority of the population. He cites Neville Alexander (2000:11) who posits that

the only question we need to pose here is the extent to which these elites cynically deny the realisation that for the overwhelming majority of ‘their’ people, the type of proficiency in the relevant European, or world, language that would empower them is actually unattainable under present conditions

Rodney finds that Namibia still has a long way to go to achieve a sense of freedom and identity from colonial, apartheid legacies that reinforce invisibility and devalue African languages, values, resources and social systems in favour of European ones.

Anders Breidlid finds a rationale for the focus on the relationship between indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable development in the overall low success rate of Western-based development strategies for the masses of Africans. Breidlid builds on his own fieldwork among the Xhosas in South Africa when he claims that it is imperative that African indigenous knowledge systems are understood in relation to a world-view which is to a large extent realised in religious ceremonies, rituals and other practices. Breidlid criticises the new curriculum in South Africa known under the name C2005 (Curriculum 2005). He finds that not enough space has been set aside in C2005 to negotiate the various cultures, world-views and knowledge systems in class. C 2005, according to Anders, makes these negotiations and navigations even more difficult because the dominant school language is colonial and alien to the majority of primary school children in South Africa. When the languages and the cultures of the majority of the people are more or less excluded from the curriculum in the country, it does something to the self-confidence and self-esteem of Africans, besides the obvious learning challenges it creates in school. Moreover, it has major implications for the distribution of power and democracy in the country where those in the driving seat do not seem to appreciate indigenous cultural capital, at least not in the education system.

Roger Avenstrup mentions that in Africa, the development of national curricula has been fundamental in creating national identity and values, and yet no country has succeeded in developing a curriculum based on African epistemology and identity. His article in this section does not come from Africa but it also deals with the content of education. Roger compares the inclusion of a values dimension in two apparently very different types of donor-funded evaluations: a classroom impact study of the first Palestinian national curriculum which was an evaluation of donor support to the development of the curriculum and an evaluation of the international programmes of the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation, Switzerland.

The article explores how the problems of reconciling curriculum evaluation, curriculum politics and project cycle management on the one hand, and reconciling development NGO idealism and project cycle management on the other, connect at a deeper level of discourse once one moves to the level of evaluating the values dimension. Curricula have multiple dimensions, not just the measurable and quantifiable, including values. National curricula are intended to have a powerful steering effect on the whole educational system.

The two examples presented in this article were exceptions to conventional project evaluations. In the first case, the impact and appropriation of the value base of a national curriculum was evaluated as a measure of the efficacy and justifiability of donor support to the development of the curriculum. In the second case, tracking the emerging impact of values from the originating agency through to the ultimate beneficiary showed a dimension normally lost when a logical framework is used as a template for evaluation. In both cases, it was the voices and discourse of the children/young people which brought the added dimension to evaluation.

We agree with Roger in his assertion that if curriculum evaluation is to be of greater value, we need to move beyond the quick fix of testing and assert a discourse of the intensity, depth and meaning of learning, especially in the values dimension. If evaluation of development aid is itself to be of greater value, we need to move beyond the quick fix of the logical framework and assert a discourse of value issues in the sphere of public debate, for better or worse. This means also a shift in the language used in evaluations. A fundamental re-e-value-ation of evaluation itself is needed.

The Language of Instruction in Other Colonial Contexts

This section of the book contains three articles, two dealing with the language situation in a couple of Asian countries, India and Sri Lanka, and one dealing with Deaf language.

Caroline Dyer notes that in India, research on literacy acquisition is dominated by work on English rather than regional languages. In fact a focus on the pedagogical implications of acquisition of literacy in Indian languages is rare. Much remains to

be learned about the links between local languages and literacy learning at school, and their roles in promoting social equity – a key Indian educational policy goal. Her article reflects on these issues, drawing in part on empirical findings of fieldwork begun in 2008 to investigate this issue in 51 government schools in the District of Jaipur in Rajasthan, northern India. Teachers in the project sample wanted the research team to report that they use Rajasthani or Hindi, but Caroline and her team found that the teachers mostly use Dhundhadi as the language of instruction. This is a covert practice by teachers trying to reconcile gaps in language policy with socio-linguistic realities. It is done to facilitate children's acquisition of the dominant language. Researchers in the Tanzanian part of the LOITASA project found a similar practice in Tanzanian secondary schools, where teachers often code-switch to Kiswahili when they teach, even though they are supposed to teach in English.

Dyer finds that language use in educational contexts such as those described in her article contributes to a continuing marginalisation of children of the most socio-economically disadvantaged groups. Poor achievements, early dropout and inconsistent policy and practice responses to the linguistic and cultural knowledge of children who do not enjoy socio-economic privilege, all point to ways in which schooling, unfortunately, is complicit in sustaining socio-economic disadvantage.

Lakshman K. Wedikkarage in his article tells that Sri Lanka introduced her local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, as languages of instruction in education even before having obtained independence from Britain in 1948. Steps were taken to introduce these languages as media of instruction in all primary schools in 1945, secondary schools in 1953 and at universities in 1960. Local educationists argue that the change of medium of instruction from English to local languages enabled the majority of students to learn science subjects in their mother tongue, nullifying the previous belief that studying these subjects in English would be an advantage. The mother tongue medium policy in Sri Lanka has contributed remarkably to the development process of the country. Sri Lanka enjoys a literacy rate of 91 per cent (the highest in South Asia and one of the best in developing countries). It can also boast of 100 per cent participation rates in primary education. In addition to the increased life expectancy in general, Sri Lanka is the only country in South Asia that is not considered a low income country.

However, the educational authorities in Sri Lanka in 2001 reintroduced English as a medium of instruction for science classes at collegiate level (Grades 12 and 13) also known as General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (G.C.E.A/L) in certain selected government schools. In his article Lakshman critically analyses the discourses that led to a reverse in language of instruction for G.C.E. (A/L) science classes in certain selected schools at a time when such subjects were comfortably being taught in local languages. Lakshman found that the major objective of the reintroduction of English as a medium of instruction for G.C.E. (A/L) science classes was in reality to improve English language competence of students. The

idea that English medium will lead to improved English competence of the G.C.E. (A/L) science students emerged as a central unsubstantiated belief. In Sri Lanka, a country where science teaching has taken place for nearly 40 years in the local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, it is difficult to find teachers who are willing and competent to teach such subjects in English. According to the students Lakshman interviewed, most of the teachers resorted to either Sinhala or Tamil when they could not properly explain their lessons in English. According to the same students, the teachers were far more effective presenting their subject matter when they taught in their mother tongue.

Generally, when admitting students to G.C.E. (A/L) science classes in privileged government schools, a very strict selection procedure is adhered to. Since the demand for these schools is very high, only the very best students are selected. However, in order to fill up the English medium classes this strict selection mechanism was relaxed for students who promised to study A/L science subjects in English medium. Many of these students soon experienced that they could not study these subjects in English medium and sought permission to go back to mother tongue medium, creating administrative problems in schools.

The failure of educational authorities to teach English effectively as a second language has been used as a pretence to reintroduce English medium in the public school system in Sri Lanka. The study by Wedikkarage of the difficulties both teachers and students face when using English as a medium of instruction indicates that what is required in the Sri Lankan context is not to go back to English medium, as the two local languages are effectively used in the provision of education, but for students to learn English well as a foreign, yet important language. Most private sector employers do not demand job seekers to have studied in English medium. What the private sector requires are people with a good knowledge of English.

In his article Arnfinn Muruvik Vonen explores the application of the idea of linguistic imperialism to sign languages. After a brief discussion of deafness as a disability and Deaf communities as cultural-linguistic minorities, and some background information about sign languages, he discusses the relationship between the sign languages of the former colonial powers and the sign languages of the former colonies. He then proceeds to look at the relationships between spoken languages and sign languages as yet another example of linguistic imperialism.

Vonen makes us aware of the fact that here are at least two very different ways of looking at deaf/Deaf people:

- as (groups of) disabled people, comparable to blind people; and
- as linguistic-cultural communities comparable to other indigenous and migrant minority communities found throughout the world.

These two perspectives (or constructions) oppose each other in a deep sense. In the disability perspective, deafness is seen as a deficit, a challenge, a problem to be overcome. In the linguistic-cultural perspective, according to which there is sensory *difference* rather than deficit, being Deaf (often spelt with a capital D, following the English-language convention for referring to cultural groups) is seen as a resource, and sign language is, for many, the clearest manifestation of this resource.

In the article by Vonen, which deals with sign languages more than with the sense of hearing, it is mainly the linguistic-cultural perspective on the Deaf community that is relevant. Linguists now generally agree that sign languages are full-fledged languages in every important sense. The only fundamental difference between sign languages and spoken languages is in the modality used – sign languages are “visual-gestural” rather than “auditory-vocal” languages. Many sign languages have been influenced in parts of their vocabularies and structures by the spoken languages which surround them, but they have not evolved historically from spoken languages. Rather, they have evolved out of whatever visually accessible forms of communication were available in a community where deaf children were first brought together to grow up in each other’s company.

Arnfinn shows through examples in his article that linguistic imperialism is not limited to spoken languages. It can be recognised in internal relationships among sign languages, as well as in relationships between spoken and signed languages. Linguistic imperialism involving spoken and sign languages is usually both structural and cultural. Features of the relationships within such language pairs (such as Norwegian and Norwegian Sign Language) are, however, very similar to those described in the literature on linguistic imperialism.

Also the Nordic Languages Are Threatened

Two of the articles in this volume deal with the increased threat from English on the Nordic languages as academic languages. The new strategic plan for the University of Copenhagen called Destination 2012 emphasizes that English and Danish should be regarded as parallel languages. At the Faculty of Law at the same university a new requirement demands of academic staff up for tenure that they master English.

Per-Åke Lindblom, who is the initiator and leader of the Swedish NGO “Språkförsvaret” in his article gives an overview of the situation in several Nordic countries, while Birgit Brock-Utne in her article concentrates on the situation in Norway. Per-Åke Lindblom mentions that during the period 1960 to 1979 90 per cent of Ph.D. theses delivered at the University of Copenhagen were written in Danish and 10 per cent in English. From 2000 to 2004, 100 per cent were written in English! The Nordic governments have not taken any measures against the expansion of English at academic levels, but on the contrary, as Per-Åke sees

it, adopted a laissez faire policy. Characteristically, the Swedish Parliamentary bill on colleges did not spend a single word on the position of Swedish at the country's colleges. Birgit Brock-Utne tells how in Norway the important paragraph "The language of instruction at Norwegian universities is usually Norwegian" (§2.7 of the University Law of 1995) was taken out when the law was amended 1st August 2005.

The Nordic language declaration prescribes linguistic parallelism between English and Nordic languages, as does also the language committee at the University of Oslo. Both of the writers in this section are sceptical to this strategy. Linguistic parallelism may easily be misinterpreted to imply nothing but regulating the relation between a Nordic language and English, setting them on the same footing.

In her article in this volume Birgit Brock-Utne tells that at the time when she was teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (1987–1992), there was not a single course in English at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo. Now the situation has changed and that at such a rapid pace that there is reason to maintain that Norwegian is threatened as an academic language. In two articles published in the *International Review of Education* Brock-Utne (2001b, 2007a) has gone deeper into the problems Norwegian academics face and into the debate both in Norway and Sweden than it has been possible in this book (see also 2007b). In her article here she mostly dwells on the more recent development within higher education in Norway and especially deals with the reward system for publishing academic articles. She also touches on the most recent White paper on the language policy in Norway.

Brock-Utne mentions the 2004 dossier from the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions called: *Vekt på forskning* (Emphasizing research). This publication institutionalised a reward system dividing journals and publishing companies into three levels, level zero (no reward given to the institution or researcher – (most publishing companies in developing countries belong to this category even if they publish in English), level 1 (reward given), level 2 (higher reward given – normally three times higher as level 1).

On the internet one can find a list of 486 ranked publishing companies. Of these 55 companies are ranked at level 2, while 431 companies are ranked at level 1. No Norwegian publishing company is ranked at level 2, not even the University Publishing Company or other academic publishers like Fagbokforlaget, Gyldendal Akademisk, Cappelen Akademisk or Tapir Akademisk.. More than 80 per cent of the publishing companies ranked at level 2 are based in the US. Points are given for one-authored books published by a publishing company ranked at level 1 (5 points), and one-authored books published by a publishing company ranked at level 2 (8 points). Chapters in books published by a publishing company ranked on level 1 is rewarded with 0.7 points and at level 2 with 1 point. Each point was

in 2006 rewarded with 40 000 NOK (US \$6,500) which comes to the university centrally. Normally the central university unit keeps 25 per cent and sends the rest to the faculties where the academic staff members who have generated the revenue are employed. The faculty keeps some of the money and distributes the rest to the different departments. The departments decide how much of the money will go to the academic staff member who has written the article/chapter/book and how much will be part of a research fund which everyone in the academic staff can apply for. At the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo the academic staff member who has generated the points will get about a tenth of the sum for her or his own research purposes.

When it comes to academic journals, a list of 1758 ranked journals are given, among which a tenth are ranked at level two and the rest at level one. Only four of the many peer-reviewed academic journals published in Norwegian have been ranked at level 2. Within the field of educational research no academic journal in which articles are written in another language than English has been ranked at level 2. Scholarly articles on level 1 are rewarded with 1 point and at level 2 with 3 points. This system has now been institutionalized and forms part of the basis for university funding.

Per Åke tells about a trend among the elites in Sweden to send their children to secondary schools where the language of instruction is English. A doctoral thesis from 2008 shows that these students, even though they come from the elite class, face many of the same problems as African students. They become inactive, are afraid of answering in class, have to do extra homework, and the teaching becomes more teacher centred. In Africa this is the result of colonialism. In the Nordic countries it will eventually be a question of self chosen colonialism, freely and willingly turning the clock back. The reward system for academic publishing instituted in Norway will have the same effect.

Language in the Courts – Examples from Tanzania and Norway

It is difficult to imagine situations where it is more important to understand words and texts than when people are accused of criminal acts and have to meet in a court to defend themselves. Even if they are assisted by an attorney, it is imperative that the accused understands fully what the solicitor is saying – and that the attorney similarly fully grasps the client's explanations. And though the lawyer is expected to master the law texts it may be an advantage that also the accused can read and understand the relevant paragraphs. He or she might happen to see points which are not evident to a law expert who after all has not personally experienced the incriminating situation. Of course these observations are just as relevant for exchanges with the public prosecutor and the judge.

Understanding may be hampered by many things. One easily misunderstands an uttering if one's hearing ability is reduced. Neither is it easy to read a text correctly if one's eyes are failing or one is suffering from dyslexia. Court procedures should make sure that efficient measures are regularly undertaken to avoid condemning suspects who did not understand what they might have answered to a question in order to prove their innocence. Most of all it is imperative to ascertain that accused persons understand the language of the laws and courts.

As Haroub Othman shows in his chapter, the situation in Tanzania is far from fulfilling this claim: Law bills presented to the Union Parliament are all written in English with a summary in Kiswahili. The presentations are made in Kiswahili and the discussion takes place in Kiswahili. Knowing that the government officials who draft the Bills know Kiswahili, Parliamentarians who discuss them know Kiswahili and the people who will be affected by those Bills once enacted know Kiswahili, one wonders why they are written in English.

The public impression is that most members of the Union Parliament do not read the Bills. All they depend on are the summaries that are provided by the Ministers when presenting Bills in Parliament. Most of the time then the discussion centres on the presentation and not necessarily on what is contained in the Bill. No wonder then that sometimes Parliamentarians, when they come face to face with the effects of the legislations that they passed, get surprised that they passed such laws! This definitely does not augur well for the development of a democratic culture in the country, Othman states.

The situation is even more serious in Zanzibar. A bill is drafted in Kiswahili and presented to the House of Representatives in Kiswahili. Once it is passed by the House, it is translated into English and then presented to the President for his assent. The version which is made public and people are supposed to follow is the English version, not the one that was passed by the House!

In the case of Tanzania Mainland, apart from the Primary and District Courts where the language is Kiswahili, in all other courts the language is English. For those who appear in these courts but do not know English, translation service is provided. In the case of Zanzibar, English is used only in the High Court, though the parties appearing before it *can* use Kiswahili. But even when Kiswahili is used, the record is taken in English and the judgement is given in English.

The newly appointed Chief Justice of Tanzania, Hon. Justice Agostino Ramadhani promised that he will encourage the use of Kiswahili throughout the judicial system. Haroub Othman, who hopes that the Chief Justice will prevail, points out that judges and advocates are great supporters of English in the courts. But he remembers an incident at the General Meeting of the Zanzibar Law Society, where the President of the Society ruled that the meeting should be conducted in English, since this was the official language of the High Court. Half an hour later nobody was talking English, and nobody protested!

Norwegian Cases

In Norway as in most other European nations the situation is definitely better. In general, citizens born by Norwegian parents speak Norwegian. Laws are written in Norwegian, and Norwegian is the language of the courts. There are two varieties of the Norwegian language, *bokmål* and *nynorsk* (and laws may be written in either one), but the two forms are so close to each other that the differences hardly create any trouble. The fact that old legal terminology may be difficult to understand for many people, is also a minor hindrance.

But there is no doubt that great injustice over the years has been done to the minority Sami people, most of whom live in the far north of Norway, where some still are following their flocks of reindeer roaming between the high hinterland and the milder coastal areas. The Sami tongue is an Uralic language, totally different from the Nordic languages. However, considerable progress has been made during the last decades to take care of the rights of this indigenous population, introducing Sami as language of instruction.

Norway has met, similar challenges through the immigration of people from Africa, Asia, South America and Eastern Europe. Including their children, who often speak fluent Norwegian and enjoy school activities, they now make up some 10 per cent of the population. Much is still lacking when it comes to the teaching of Norwegian to grown up immigrants.

In his chapter Ståle Eskeland gives a good example of what this can lead to in a court case, highlighting the importance of language, culture and context for the outcome of a case.

The case concerns a 35-year-old woman from Somalia who had stayed in Norway for four years. She lived in a home for single mothers in Oslo and had the custody of a son two-years-old. She did not speak Norwegian, her understanding ability was weak. She spoke and understood some English. One night, around midnight, she returned with her two year old son from a visit to some friends. The main entrance door was locked. After some time she knocked out a window, and the night attendant, who had been sleeping, appeared. The attendant called the police who came within a few minutes. The Somalian woman was arrested, her son was taken care of by a child welfare team. During this sequence, the woman allegedly shouted to the attendant: "I will kill you!". The woman was indicted for having threatened to kill the attendant in a way that was likely to cause serious fear. She was found guilty and sentenced to 15 days in prison. The case raises a lot of questions, among which Ståle mentions a few:

1. What did the defendant actually pronounce? Her English was poor. The bystanders' understanding of her English was poor. Language problems make it impossible to know what she in fact said.

2. If she did pronounce the words “I will kill you”, what did they mean in her context?
3. How common is the expression “I will kill you” in the defendant’s social environment?
4. Did the defendant have a fair chance to argue along these lines? Obviously not.

Ståle Eskeland illustrates the case with an amusing example from another Norwegian court:

A drunk restaurant guest in northern Norway was indicted for having insulted a police officer by calling him a “hestkuk”, which is Norwegian for horse cock. He was acquitted in the local lower court. The court said that the expression was quite common in the northern part of Norway, and therefore it did not have the insulting effect which an isolated terminological interpretation would imply. He was nevertheless convicted in the Court of Appeals.

Formally the court case against the Somali woman was conducted in a correct way, Eskeland finds. Nevertheless, in reality the process was unfair. A person who does not master the language and the social codes in a society has a great disadvantage. That disadvantage does not disappear when a conflict is brought into the court room. It only becomes visible in another way. In Eskeland’s opinion the woman should not have been indicted in the first place. And she should not have been convicted in the second place. Thanks to the fact that Norway has quite low sentences compared to many other states, the sentence was suspended. And the defendant did not have to serve the fifteen days in prison.

The Difficulties of Publishing in Africa

Since former colonial times the gaps between developing and industrialised countries regarding resources and power to shape future societies have been enormous, not least in the field of communication. The right to communicate implies not only freedom of information and expression, but also having the means which are needed to practice that freedom. This is essential for the spread of knowledge and ideas, for building national solidarity, for making one’s voices heard in the outside world and for practicing democracy

But the means of communication are still extremely unequally distributed in the world of ours (Garbo 1985). In the industrialised countries the space of communication is dominated by media conglomerates which daily disseminate enormous amounts of news, entertainment and opinions to home populations and other peoples. People in the developing world experience in addition another challenge. While voices of the South are seldom heard in the North, the Southern world is continually exposed

to the stream of messages from Northern print and audio-visual media, presenting the way of life in rich countries, their culture or lack of culture, their religion or lack of religion, their languages and their world outlook.

In his chapter on publishing experiences in Africa Kwesi Kwaa Prah describes a raging “book famine” and a stunted book publishing on the African continent. To a high extent this sordid situation is evidently the result of poverty. But it has also other reasons. Over 95 per cent of the literature currently circulating in Africa is written in colonial languages, which only about 10 per cent of the Africans can read reasonably well. Another fact worth noticing is that the limited literature produced in African languages mainly consists of religious Christian publications, principally the Bible and related material.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah sees the Kiswahili newspapers in Tanzania, which constitute three quarters of the local media content, as one of the most successful examples of publishing in African languages. When it comes to the internet, the situation is different. Seventy per cent of the content on the internet is assumed to be English. Even if Tanzanians get access to the internet, only 5 per cent of them may understand most of the content, he claims. Yet, as Torill shows in her article new sites in Kiswahili are added steadily.

Walter Bgoya draws attention to the relation between education, language and communication. Over a quarter century has passed since the first research findings in Tanzania established the disadvantages to students of an education in a language neither they nor their teachers have sufficient command of. All the same Tanzania as well as numerous other countries in Africa south of Sahara continue to use English as language of instruction both in secondary schools and universities. This can hardly be justified by the lack of resources. Tanzania has schools and other requirements for teaching and learning. The issue is in fact a denial of appropriate education through imposition of a foreign language that neither the teachers nor the students command effectively.

Bgoya is correct in insisting on the right to education in one's own language. In Article 2, point 2 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights the States Parties guarantee that the rights enunciated in the Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to language. True, developing countries may determine to what extent their national economy makes it possible to guarantee a given right. But it is difficult to see that economic reasons should hinder a country like Tanzania in switching over from English to Kiswahili as language of instruction. The change is likely to be an economic advantage.

The discrimination against African languages in education has negative consequences for publishing, readership and literature in general, Bgoya points out. Without strong command of one's own language and even of the imposed foreign language one cannot be productive in an industry that requires strong language proficiency and

extensive knowledge of one's subject. Similar things can be said about readership. Unless reading is developed early at home and at school it is unlikely to take root and become a permanent habit.

Today students in Tanzania cannot read comfortably books that are written in more than rudimentary English. A whole range of professions associated with literature and research, such as translation and interpretation in international organisations, are effectively closed to Tanzanians. Even in South Africa, where the publishing industry is supposed to be the most developed in Africa south of Sahara, more than three quarters of books sold are published by foreign multinational companies.

Walter Bgoya points out that colonial educational policy everywhere aimed at producing faithful servants of the colonial regime. But that policy did not end with the declaration of independence. In order to facilitate continued economic exploitation new relations were established, using aid as a tool of manipulation and control. The sorry state of publishing in Africa is a product of all these circumstances, central to which is the success of the colonial policy in making African states reject their own languages in the education of their citizens. Financial and other technical limitations in the industry would be solved if this block were removed, Bgoya feels.

Kwesi Kwaa Prah, who recognises the immense difficulties encountered at a continent which is still dominated by colonial languages, sees newspaper production and desktop publishing as the most promising areas for increased printing in African languages. Greater efforts would have to be thrown in behind these options and techniques. At the same time he refers to CASAS, the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, which is working mainly with the harmonisation and standardisation of African languages. Through CASAS a wide variety of literature aimed at empowering readers has been produced in the new orthographies within fields as diverse as HIV/AIDS, water, sanitation, health problems, democracy, human rights and gender issues. Much of what has been purchased has been acquired by institutions and libraries outside Africa, which hardly needs empowering, but might benefit from understanding African efforts to get rid of neo-colonialism.

Walter Bgoya, who is the Director of the Tanzanian publishing house Mkuki na Nyota, has on his side been the driving force in establishing the African Books Collective with a membership of more than one hundred African publishers. Through its small office in Oxford the ABC is disseminating books produced in Africa to readers in Europe and America, lessening to a modest extent the enormous domination of the media conglomerates of the North.

So far the struggle in Tanzania for using African languages has been waged by academics, mostly at conferences and seminars, Walter Bgoya states. New voices are being heard in the judiciary, where some judges are questioning the implications for justice of having the laws of the country written in English, taking into account the lack of knowledge of English among those for whom the laws are made. These are important steps, Bgoya admits, but it is evident that the struggle must now be

extended to the political arena. Allies must be found in civil society organisations, political parties, in Parliament and among other social groups. There is need to harness a strong movement that will eventually force the government to comply with the interests of the people.

In the last article in this section Torill Aagot Halvorsen discusses the ICT language (Information and Communication Technology) in Tanzania's Higher Education. Kwesi Kwaa Prah has more belief in newspapers in African languages spreading literacy among Africans than in ICT. In fact he is sceptical to the extent to which ICT will prove to be of help to the spread of African languages as written languages. A survey Halvorsen conducted in 2008 among 200 staff and students at the UDSM showed that a high number of respondents used Kiswahili in most of their communication through computers, in e-mails, chat, other forms of collaboration with colleagues and when writing text messages on their cell phones. This last result is interesting as a similar result has been found in Senegal, where most students write text messages on their cell phones in Wolof, though the official language of instruction is French (Lexander 2009). Many of the lecturers and students at the University of Dar es Salaam read more and write more Kiswahili now than before they started using the internet. Web sites in Kiswahili have been escalating in the last years, newspapers, dictionaries and freeware are downloadable from the internet. Software programs like Word, Excel, Outlook and Power Point all exist in Kiswahili. Software and ICT devices in Kiswahili are increasing all the time.

Torill found that UDSM students with the most ICT experience show enthusiasm towards and are active in using Kiswahili ICT devices. They also tend to use Kiswahili as ICT language more than students with less ICT experience. This points to a future where modern technology may assist the African languages in occupying a more important role.

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LANGUAGE IN THE SECURITY DISCOURSE

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, LANGUAGE AND GENDER

By Carol Cohn

Introduction

My role in this volume is to explore the language employed in the conceptualisation and practice of “security.” So I must start by noting that “security”, as discussed in this paper, is actually a very specific, perhaps even odd, use of the term. “Security” itself is a word that can refer to a huge range of phenomena, and it is a key concept employed in a variety of discourses. Looking at its most common dictionary definitions, “freedom from danger, freedom from fear or anxiety”, it is easy to see its resonance at an individual, psychological level; it is also to see its application to the social and economic conditions and relations within which people live.

What might (or should) be less self-evident is the way “security” is deployed in what is commonly referred to as “security discourse” (i.e., “International Security” or “National Security” discourse), as developed and employed by both academics and policy elites. Here, the use of this word, meaning “freedom from danger and fear”, has implicit in the extraordinarily narrow assumptions about both what security consists of, and how to attain it. This is the only way to make sense of the fact that “security discourse” is not a discourse about the multiple dimensions and determinants of “security” broadly writ; but rather, it is a discourse that has as its principal referents “weapons” and “war”.

So rather than “Security, Language and Gender”, it would be more accurate to say that this paper is about “Weapons, War, Language and Gender”. The relation between these four terms is a topic that has threaded through my research, in different permutations, for the past 20 years. For the purposes of this volume, I offer snapshots of three different moments in that journey, three different locales where we can explore the relation of language, security and gender. In examining the language used by practitioners at these three sites, I will focus on the ways that international and national security discourse itself (hereafter simply referred to as “security discourse”) is gendered, and the effects of that gendering.

The first discourse I discuss is that of American civilian nuclear defence intellectuals the men (to this day, there are few women in the field) who from the time of the

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The first discourse I discuss is that of American civilian nuclear defence intellectuals the men (to this day, there are few women in the field) who from the time of the

first nuclear bomb have formulated the paradigms most commonly used to think about the use of nuclear weapons, strategies for “nuclear war fighting”, deterrence, and nuclear arms control. Elsewhere I have argued that both the specific language that they use and the professional discourse within which it is embedded serve to radically disconnect defence intellectuals from the very realities which they purport to be addressing (Cohn 1987a, 1987b). While there are many mechanisms that contribute to this effect, here I will only touch upon the role of gendered imagery. I will not argue (and do not believe) that the gendered language of nuclear defence intellectuals somehow reveals the “real motivation behind the arms race” or a powerful association between “missile envy” and “penis envy”.⁶ Such a reductionist explanation cannot begin to do justice to the complexity of motivations, ideas, institutions and politics that underpin the growth of nuclear arsenals. However, it is also a mistake to ignore the prevalence of gendered metaphors and imagery in nuclear discourse, and in this chapter I will explore the ways in which they function.

The second snapshot moves us up a decade, to the language used by security experts and politicians to discuss nuclear proliferation. In this case, I will argue that proliferation discourse itself legitimates the current global distribution of state power through racialised and gendered metaphors. In so doing it actually fosters the nuclear aspirations of countries that might not otherwise find nuclear weapons programmes so desirable.

The third location is the appearance of gender in the discourse of the United Nations Security Council, in the form of Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325), unanimously adopted by the Security Council in October 2000. This moment is qualitatively different from the others, as it represents the first time that gender is brought into security discourse overtly, purposefully, consciously, as a *subject* of security discourse – rather than as an unacknowledged, unexamined, embedded metaphor. SCR 1325, along with the wider “women, peace and security agenda” it has come to symbolise, offers an enormous conceptual opening by asserting the centrality of gender itself to the ways we need to think about security. This revolutionary, overt focus on gender might also, I hope, help illuminate the pernicious effects of *not* acknowledging the practical and symbolic role of gender as it is threaded through other security discourses.

⁶ This is a position most often associated with the work of Helen Caldicott, especially her book *Missile Envy: The Arms Race and Nuclear War* (Caldicott 1986), although her analysis is, in fact, more complex.

The Discourse of Civilian Nuclear Defence Intellectuals

My exploration of the language of security started in the mid-1980s, during the time when Ronald Reagan was the President of the United States.⁷ Among certain members of his administration, there was a lot of loose talk about “fighting and winning” a nuclear war. Hearing it, I could not begin to believe that anybody would take seriously the possibility that nuclear war was something that could be controlled and “won”. It all seemed so wildly irrational to me. I therefore decided to spend a year among a group of nuclear defence intellectuals, to try to figure out how we could see the world so differently.

Nuclear defence intellectuals are, on the whole, male civilians. They move in and out of government, working sometimes as administrative officials or consultants, sometimes at universities and think tanks. They formulate what they call “rational” systems for dealing with the problems created by nuclear weapons: e.g., how to “manage” the arms race; how to deter the use of nuclear weapons; how to fight a nuclear war if deterrence fails.

The community of nuclear defence intellectuals I studied was situated at a prominent, elite university in the northeastern US. I went into their community wondering: “How can they think this way? What is this about?” At first, I just listened to them talk to each other; it was, initially, a struggle to even comprehend what they were saying. Their highly specialised professional language was so riddled with acronyms and abstractions, it was practically opaque to me.

As I began to be able to decode the language, I realised that the acronyms and abstractions often functioned as a kind of euphemism. One particularly stunning example is the term “collateral damage,” (which at the time only appeared in nuclear weapons discourse, although it has since become common in the discourse of “conventional” wars, such as the current war in Iraq). The term “collateral damage” sounds like it refers to something minor, something peripheral to the main event, a reference to some kind of objects that get in the way. So I was stunned when I first learned that “collateral damage” is the phrase the defence intellectuals were using to refer to human beings, human deaths. Suffering, dying human beings are made invisible in the strategists’ focus on destroying the other side’s weapons, their “targets”. As one defence intellectual commented ironically, “The Air Force doesn’t target *people*, it targets shoe factories⁸”. The people killed are no more than “collateral damage”.

In the thicket of acronyms, abstraction and euphemism that characterised what I came to call “technostrategic discourse”, there were also lapses in the abstraction, moments when sexual and domestic metaphors would suddenly appear. As I had

⁷ The work summarized in this section of the paper can be found in (Cohn 1987a, 1987b).

⁸ This statement came as an ironic aside in a 1984 lecture given by a defence analyst who had had access to US nuclear targeting lists for at least two decades.

been part of the feminist movement in the US, I had certainly heard women say that the so-called “arms race” with the Soviet Union was “just about missile envy”. I dismissed this explanation as dangerously inadequate (as I still do). I assumed, though, that men in this professional world would also have heard this accusation, and might be on guard against anything that could appear to confirm it. However, I was completely wrong.

There were, in fact, sexual metaphors liberally sprinkled throughout their discussions. I would listen to very serious men in suits and ties sitting around conference tables, talking about “thrust to weight ratios”, “soft lay-downs”, “deep penetration”, “the comparative advantage of protracted versus spasm attacks” or, what one military adviser to the US National Security Council called “releasing seventy to eighty per cent of our mega-tonnage in one, orgasmic, whump” (Odom 1985). Additionally, there was an anxious preoccupation with “hardening our missiles” and worry that the Russians were “harder than we are”. Of course, what we needed, it was said, was better “penetration aids”. As these conversations wore on, I would glance around and wonder if at some point someone would realise what it sounded like, and perhaps give me a glance that was a bit embarrassed or sheepish – but it never happened.

Other kinds of metaphors also made an appearance as well – ones that were less sexual and more domestic. Nuclear missiles, for example, are “housed” in “silos”, a word normally used to name the structures that farmers use to store grain, which dot the fields of agricultural landscapes. When I was touring a Trident submarine, I found that the sub’s crewmembers refer to the place where its twenty-four nuclear missiles are lined up, ready to launch, as the “Christmas tree farm”. What could be more pastoral, more bucolic, more calming than this: silos and Christmas tree farms? What images could less evoke the death, suffering and destruction these missiles would unleash when launched?

Also when on the Trident, as we were walking past the missiles, the man who was leading the tour asked us if we would like to reach through a hole and “pat the missile”. Pat the missile? On another occasion, after I had been out to an Air Force base where we saw the then-brand-new B-1 bomber, one of the men who had not been able to go on the trip said to me very enviously, “Oh, I hear you got to pat the B-1”. I began to ask myself, “What is this patting all about?” What does one pat? Dogs, cats, small children – things that are domesticated, harmless, and unthreatening. In fact, silos and missiles that get patted on Christmas tree farms are just a few of the prevalent images and metaphors that function to take something of literally unimaginable scale and horror, and cut it down to size, domesticate it, make it friendly, manageable, something that can be integrated into daily thinking, so that working on it can be integrated into daily life. Indeed, I saw the sexual metaphors functioning in very much the same way – *not* as somehow revealing “this is what it’s all about”, but as turning the mind’s eye away from the devastation the weapons are designed to let loose. The sexual and domestic metaphors make nuclear weapons

and ultimately nuclear destruction itself more comfortable, more fun, easier to talk about.

Listening to the defence intellectuals, it was clear that you had to learn the codes before you could even enter their linguistic world. This was not just an issue of whether a listener could understand what these nuclear specialists were saying. It also meant that these men did not recognise other speakers as having real knowledge, and thus a legitimate voice, if the speaker could not speak in the professional, abstract language of nuclear strategists. So almost by definition, the concerns of almost anyone outside their small group – such as concerned citizens, anti-nuclear activists, politicians – could be summarily dismissed as being “uninformed” and “naïve”. Because I wanted to be able to ask questions and be taken seriously, I decided to learn to speak the language.

The first thing that was absolutely stunning to me was that learning the language was fun. It felt good to train the tongue in the articulation of acronyms and to be able to manipulate the abstractions. Not only was it fun, but it also felt good in other ways. It made me feel like I was a member of an elite secret society. And even more striking (and troubling) it made me feel more in control. It was as though by controlling the language, by getting a grasp on it, by mastering it, I was somehow also controlling the nuclear weapons themselves. In fact, the better I got at speaking technostrategic language, the less afraid of nuclear war I became. This is not because the new information to which the language gave me access somehow revealed that the situation was safer than I had thought. Quite the contrary, it revealed to me that the situation was far more dangerous than I had imagined! But it was the act of learning the language itself which gave me the sense of mastery and control, which then bled over into feeling that the weapons and nuclear war fighting themselves were and could be kept in control.

The most disturbing aspect of having acquired linguistic competence in technostrategic language only became apparent, however, when I started to use this new competence to ask questions and have conversations. After a brief period of simply feeling relieved that I could actually hold up my end of a conversation, I suddenly realised that I was in a closed system, and there was no way to use the language to ask about the things I really cared about, or state my own ideas. There were no technostrategically - appropriate words to talk about human suffering, or the ways in which war rips apart the social fabric and the social structures we require to survive, let alone thrive. And if you dared go outside the technostrategic vocabulary to make up that deficit – for example, if you dared to utter the word “peace”, you immediately marked yourself as soft, feminine, unrealistic, not expert. The closest thing to peace you could say was, “strategic stability”. What is strategic stability? It’s about the abstract calculation of the relation of one arsenal of weapons to another arsenal of weapons. It is not about political, social and economic relations, the conditions of people’s lives, or human beings at all.

So how was it possible to simultaneously feel more in control and completely unable to articulate anything I cared about? It made no sense, until finally I asked myself: What is the central referent of this discourse? And realised that it is not human beings at all, nor even state security: it is weapons. Not actual, physical weapons, and the ways that they would function under real-world conditions, but an abstract, symbolic representation of those weapons, and their hypothetical, abstract relations to each other according to the abstract theories of deterrence, escalation, and “limited nuclear war fighting” that these men had invented.

There is a second aspect of this discourse that also explains the impossibility of voicing human concerns. It is not only that the central referent of the discourse is (an abstraction of) weapons, but also that the position of the speaker of the language is the *user* of those weapons, not the victim. The discourse was created in order to make it possible to gain political power from weapons which were considered too dangerous to physically detonate. The entire edifice of nuclear strategic theory is an invention of the weapon’s possessors, in which they imagine the most politically advantageous ways of deploying and hypothetically using them. Given this purpose, the perspective of the potential human victims of the weapons’ use is utterly extraneous, and thus excluded from what can be voiced within the discourse.

If this discourse is understood as representing the user of nuclear weapons, what kind of user does it posit? The theory that it embeds can only make even the most minimal sense if the men who have control of nuclear arsenals are paragons of abstract and calculative rationality, scientifically and technologically competent, massively well informed and knowledgeable at all times, free from human frailty and error, never moved by emotions, always totally and masterfully in control, never swayed away from their course. In other words, the whole edifice relies on (and cannot stand without) beings who are supreme paragons of hegemonic masculinity. In order to appear at all sensible, nuclear strategic theory requires that which does not exist. At the same time, its encoding of hegemonic masculinity in its very structure makes it possible to delegitimize anyone who would question it as sissies, wimps, women.

My time in the world of nuclear defence intellectuals suggests that when you learn a language, it can change not only what you can say, but also what you can think (e.g., it simply is not possible to think about peace within technostrategic discourse). I also found that it can even change how you feel, as learning the language made me feel more in control, less fearful. So I left this experience with a new awareness of the power of language, and a new set of questions to ask. First, when looking at a particular discourse, whose perspective is it articulating? How does that work? What are the mechanisms that allow it to achieve those ends and to articulate that perspective? What are the key referents of this discourse? What are its subjects? What role does abstraction, euphemism and metaphor play, and how do they function? Where is gender embedded, and what work is it doing? In the case of the

nuclear defence intellectuals, gender was, on the one hand, providing a nice set of sexual and domestic metaphors that helped to divert the mind into something more pleasant and fun. It was also operating on a deeper level where the position that these men had staked out was the masculine, valued position and their opponents were feminised and devalued. Are there parallels in other discourses?

Nuclear Proliferation Discourse

The second security discourse I want to explore is nuclear proliferation discourse.⁹ In the 1990s, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, many US security specialists became less preoccupied with the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union, and more concerned with nuclear proliferation.¹⁰ “Nuclear proliferation” is itself an interesting and problematic term. The dictionary defines “proliferation” simply as “a rapid increase in number or extent.”¹¹ So you might reasonably expect that nuclear proliferation discourse is about the multiplication of nuclear weapons. However, that is not the case; it refers only to *some* of the weapons that proliferate. It does not refer to the nuclear weapons that proliferate in the United States’ arsenals – the new “generations” of weapons, the “modernised” weapons. Instead, it is used to refer to the weapons in others’ arsenals, especially those countries that do not yet have or have not long had nuclear weapons.

It is central to nuclear proliferation discourse that it constructs some nuclear weapons as a problem and others as un-problematic. The question is: How does it do that? How does it render some nuclear weapons invisible (ours) and some visible (theirs)? How does it render some of them benign (ours) and some malignant (theirs)? How does it construct its core distinction between “legitimate” and “illegitimate” possessor states?

One key answer is that the language in which the case against proliferation is made is ethno-racist and contemptuous. Generally, in Western proliferation discourse as a whole, a distinction is drawn between the (responsible) Self and the (non-Western, unruly) Other. The US represents itself as a rational, competent, prudent actor, while representing the Other as emotional, unpredictable, irrational, immature, and misbehaving. The discourse does this by drawing on and reconstructing racist

⁹ This section of the paper is based in part on material first developed in Cohn & Ruddick (2004) and Cohn et al. (2005).

¹⁰ The exception is those nuclear experts who were concerned with “loose nukes”. The term was originally used to refer to nuclear weapons situated in the former Soviet Union which were no longer under tight centralised control. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, experts now use the term more broadly, to refer to “nuclear weapons, materials, or know-how that could fall into the wrong hands. Areas of particular concern include the black market in uranium and plutonium, as well as the temptation for poorly paid former Soviet nuclear scientists to sell their skills to the highest bidder.”

¹¹ Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2008. Merriam-Webster Online. Accessed: 15 November 2008 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/proliferate>

portrayals of third world actors, via the medium of racialised, gendered terms. The prudent, rational, mature, restrained, technologically competent, bureaucratically advanced, scientifically knowledgeable (read “white”) hegemonically masculine Self versus the emotional, irrational, unpredictable, uncontrolled, primitive, undisciplined, rogue, technologically incompetent (read “brown” or “black”) subordinately masculine Other. The distinction drawn through this racialised, gendered imagery serves to naturalise and legitimate the Self having weapons which the Other state should not. We, the prudent, responsible (great white) father, must protect, control, and limit the out-of-control, primitive (natives), the Others, for their own good as well as for our own.

I believe that the centrality of racialised, gendered imagery to the logic of nonproliferation discourse has multiple, pernicious political effects. In this chapter, I will confine myself to one very troubling consequence: If you legitimate having weapons that you don’t want others to have via the medium of a discourse that is cast in terms of admirable, hegemonic masculinity and unstable, inferior masculinity, this tends to backfire. If nuclear ownership is constructed as the mark of manhood – the modern, developed, powerful, and technologically competent man – then nuclear weapons develop a symbolic meaning quite independent of their military value; they become the desired object of political leaders who wish to prove their own, and sometimes their country’s, status. They want to be a member of the nuclear club, the men’s club, the hegemonically masculine men’s club.

Although some might on first hearing think that it is only a feminist who could possibly make this interpretation, the symbolic meaning and importance of nuclear weapons is actually taken for granted in both mass media reportage and political discourse. A good example comes from a 2006 article in *Newsweek Magazine* about how North Korea changed the nuclear club’s rules and how the US failed to stop it. There are some insiders who are part of an exclusionary club. That nuclear club has rules, i.e., it is governed by rationality, a key marker of hegemonic masculinity. On the other side, we have North Korea, to whom the words “weird”, “scary”, “isolated”, “bankrupt” all seem to attach – words which mark it as anything but hegemonically masculine.

The article starts by mentioning that Kaiser Wilhelm never forgave the French for not treating him to a parade in Paris. “The monarchs of Europe have paid no attention to what I have to say,” the German emperor whined before setting the Continent aflame in 1914. By many accounts, North Korea’s Kim Jong Il also suffers from a tender ego. For one thing the 5-foot-3 dictator is sensitive about his height (hence, one suspects, his bouffant hairstyle and elevator shoes).

So again, just look at the words associated with Kim Jong Il. At the risk of stating the obvious, none of these are “manly”.

The article goes on to say that "in the eyes of his countrymen and allies, he can never match the achievements of his revered father, the 'Great Leader' Kim Il Sung (who was close to six feet tall and who led a guerrilla army against the Japanese occupiers in the 1930s)." His father's superior height takes precedence over leading a guerrilla army! His height is not an "achievement", but it *is* a conventional marker of masculinity. By many accounts, the young Kim is fed up along with his top aides, who often reflect his views. The North Korean vice minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Gye Gwan, complained when Beijing urged Kim Jong Il to cancel a planned missile test. We are not boys. We are a nuclear power, he was reported to say.

While this statement clearly encodes the on-going tensions in North Korea's relationship with China, it does so through the trope of comparative masculinities – mature versus immature, the boss versus the bossed, the higher status versus the lower. As such, it is a startlingly overt representation of the divide between the nuclear haves and have-nots as the divide between "real men" and boys. When proliferation discourse constructs some states as legitimate possessors of nuclear weapons while denying that privilege to others through the medium of racialised, gendered imagery, becoming a nuclear power becomes the way to assert you are not a boy, but a "real" (hegemonic) man.

This same phenomenon was evident when in 1998, India carried out its first five underground nuclear tests since 1974, in what was known as "Operation Shakti¹²". (The choice of name itself is a fascinating one. In Sanskrit, shakti means power, energy; in Hinduism, "Shakti" is the Great Goddess and consort of Shiva, the feminine aspect of the divine. The men who carried out these tests demonstrated that they were so powerful that they had control over, could master, the feminine aspect of power). An article in *Newsweek* reports that Balasaheb Thackeray, (leader of Shiv Sena, a right-wing Hindu nationalist party) when asked about these tests, explained, "We had to prove that we are not eunuchs." An Indian newspaper carried a cartoon that depicted Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee propping up his government with a nuclear bomb. The caption underneath the drawing said, "Made with Viagra" (Watson 1998). Does proliferation discourse turn nuclear weapons into Viagra for states and regimes that cannot prove their manliness on their own? And Viagra for regimes attempting to overcome the colonial legacy of subordinated masculinities? Basu and Basu argue that the decision to explode five nuclear bombs was in part an attempt "to shatter stereotypes about the 'effeminate' Indian that date back to the period of British colonialism." They note that the British were particularly contemptuous, "feminized" elite Hindu masculinity, while seeing Muslims as "robust and brave". (Basu & Basu 1999).

These examples point to the importance of the symbolic dimensions of nuclear weapons on the levels of both international and domestic politics. Possession of

¹² Nuclear Weapons. 2002. Federation of American Scientists (FAS) Strategic Security Project <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/india/nuke/index.html> 8 November 2002

nuclear weapons is not only the ultimate symbolic chip in international manliness poker; it also serves domestic political ends. Political actors incorporate sexualised metaphors in their representations of nuclear weapons as a way to mobilise gendered associations and symbols in creating assent, agreement, excitement, support for, and identification with their own political regime.

It may be easy to make the assumption that the enormous symbolic and political power of nuclear weapons is somehow merely a reflection of their enormous physical destructive power, but I believe that an examination of nuclear discourse in general, and proliferation discourse in particular, reveals that this is not the case. The power of nuclear weapons as symbols certainly comes in part from their physical effects, but the weapons are perceived through with meanings which are socially constructed, through both actions and language – through discourse.

The US has a key role in this. When a country which has the most powerful conventional military in the world (with a military budget the size of the next 45 highest spending countries combined (Travis and Hellman 2008), acts as though its security is not guaranteed *except* by having nuclear weapons, it is creating a context in which nuclear weapons become the ultimate necessity for, and symbol of, state security. And when the US, or any other nuclear power, works hard to assure that other states don't obtain nuclear weapons, they are creating a context in which nuclear weapons become the ultimate arbiter of international political power. Finally, when they cast the justification for that limitation in such gendered terms, it becomes certain that the denial of the right to have nuclear weapons is seen as the denial of manhood – which, in turn, makes them appear all the more desirable, even, in some cases, indispensable. The effects of racialised gender imagery in proliferation discourse are consequential, and deeply pernicious.

Security Council Resolution 1325

A third site where I've been looking at the gendering of security discourse is Security Council Resolution 1325.¹³ This resolution was passed unanimously by the United Nations Security Council in October of 2000. It is almost impossible to find written reference to Resolution 1325 without it being preceded by the words "landmark" or "groundbreaking" – because it marked the first time that the Security Council addressed the subject of women and armed conflict directly at all, and because it is the first time that the security council not only addressed women, but also looked at them as something other than "victims", or as part of the designation "vulnerable groups" – it acknowledges women as active agents.

So what does the resolution say? It recognises that women are disproportionately victimised in wars, and calls upon all parties to armed conflicts to take special measures to respect women's rights, to protect women from sexual and gendered

¹³ Some of the arguments made in this section are developed more fully in Cohn 2004, 2008.

violence, and to end impunity for crimes of violence against women and girls. But more than protection and end to impunity, it also recognises that women have been active in peace-building and conflict prevention, and that they have a *right* to participate as decision makers at all levels in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building processes. It calls upon *all* participants in peace negotiations, male and female, to “adopt a gender perspective”, although it doesn’t say what that is. The Security Council also “expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations” (although the only specifics it gives are the inclusion of the special needs of women and girls in disarmament, mobilisation, and re-integration programmes, and support of local women’s organisations and local women’s peace initiatives). It calls for gender training of peacekeepers and others involved in peace operations. And it calls for better representation of women throughout the UN system itself.¹⁴

All of this is pretty revolutionary in the land of security thinking. If any of these things came to pass, it would be a very big leap forward, indeed. So it raises the question, how could such a potentially paradigm-shifting instrument have come out of a body made up of states, all of which hold and function under the assumptions of very conventional national and international security discourses?

The genesis of Resolution 1325 was in a mobilisation of women’s civil society organisations months before the resolution came to the floor of the Security Council. As far as I know, this is the only Security Council resolution which has its roots outside the Council, in civil society. Resolution 1325 was initiated within the NGO community and it was only after they had done a huge amount of work on it that it was picked up by women’s advocates inside the UN and by some key member states. Since 1325’s adoption, the NGO community and women’s advocates within the UN have remained mobilised, struggling to get it implemented. There has been progress, but it is slow.

Strategically, one really interesting aspect of this history is that it represents the first time that women activists, in their relation to the UN, decided to actually work on the Security Council side rather than with the General Assembly. Women’s organisations around the world have long been very active in lobbying the UN around human rights and development issues, but this is the first time that feminist strategists said, “let’s go for the Security Council” – which is, after all, the most dominating body in the UN. It is also, not coincidentally, the most male and masculinised part of the UN. So the decision to go for a Security Council resolution was a move to take the issue of women’s needs and rights vis a vis armed conflict, and move it to the most powerful part of the UN /the security realm/the heart of male decision-making power. The decision also, though, necessitated that the activists had to transform their own discourse. The mandate of the Security Council is security – not human rights (and certainly not women’s rights). So in order to make the argument for a Security Council resolution, women’s advocates had to go from framing their

¹⁴ Resolution 1325 (2000) United Nations Security Council S/RES/1325 31 October 2000.

arguments in rights discourse to framing them in security discourse. That led to certain limitations, certain things that could not be said in the resolution, but it was a strategic tradeoff that they judged well worth making. In the time since 1325 was adopted, women's advocates and feminist activists have used the resolution as a launch point for and symbol of a wider "women peace and security agenda", which conceptually transcends many of Resolution 1325's limitations.

So how effective has Resolution 1325 been as an intervention in security-discourse-as-usual? There is no question that at a rhetorical level, it has led to some astonishingly new (for the security world) ideas being uttered on the floor of the Security Council chamber – words that appear about as far from the discourse of nuclear defence intellectuals as you can get. Ambassadors now proclaim such things as: "Women are not just the victims of violence; they are often the driving force for peace¹⁵". "Only the full participation of women in global affairs can open up greater opportunities for achieving global peace¹⁶". "No approach to peace can succeed if it does not view men and women as equally important components of the solution¹⁷". But even resolutions that have come about with the best intentions can be misused. I have been informed by the editors of this book that resolution Resolution 1325 in Norway has been used as an argument to enlist Norwegian women into the military (Brock-Utne and Garbo 2007).¹⁸

It is amazing, and in many ways a real triumph, to hear these sentences coming out of an international security institution. The problem is, sentences like these get uttered only once a year, at the annual 1325 anniversary observance at the Security Council (itself, also, largely the result of NGO advocacy). The other 364 days of the year, there is little follow-through. This illustrates how far the UN is from integrating statements like these, and Resolution 1325 itself, in its daily workings.

Largely as a result of this growing clamour against the war on women the United Nations resolution that renewed the mandate for the UN Peacekeeping Force in the Congo (MONUC as it is called) contained some of the strongest language condemning rape and sexual violence ever to appear in a Security Council resolution, and obliged MONUC, in no uncertain terms, to protect the women of the Congo. The resolution was passed at the end of December 2000.

¹⁵ Ambassador Stephan Tafrov, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Bulgaria to the UN, at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 29 October 2003.

¹⁶ Ambassador Cristian Maquieira, Deputy Representative of Chile to the UN, at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 29 October 2003.

¹⁷ Ambassador John D. Negroponte, United States Permanent Representative to the UN, at the Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security, 29 October 2003.

¹⁸ Editors' note: The article by us led to a lot of newspaper debate in Norway and also a debate in the radio between the Deputy Minister of Defence Espen Barth Eide and Birgit about the role of Norwegian women in the military. Espen Barth Eide claimed that Resolution 1325 aimed at making women equal to men in all matters of defence of their country, including military defence. This had the consequence that Norwegian women when reaching 18 would be enlisted into the military and would have to make an active decision whether to do military service or not. Until now there has been a possibility for Norwegian women to join the military on a voluntary basis.

In January 2008, scarcely one month later, there was an “Act of Engagement” - a so-called peace commitment signed amongst the warring parties. I use “so-called” advisedly because evidence of peace is hard to find. But that’s not the point: The point is much more revelatory and much more damning.

The peace commitment is a fairly lengthy document. Unbelievably, from beginning to end, the word “rape” never appears. Unbelievably, from beginning to end, the phrase “sexual violence” never appears. Unbelievably, “women” are mentioned but once, lumped in with children, the elderly and the disabled. It’s as if the organizers of the peace conference had never heard of the Security Council resolution.

But it gets worse. The peace document actually grants amnesty – I repeat, amnesty – to those who have participated in the fighting. To be sure, it makes a deliberate legal distinction, stating that war crimes or crimes against humanity will not be excused. But who’s kidding whom? This arcane legal dancing on the head of a pin is not likely to weigh heavily on the troops in the field, who have now been given every reason to believe that since the rapes they committed up to now have been officially forgiven and forgotten, they can rape with impunity again. (Lewis 2008).

Reading Lewis, and watching the functioning of the Security Council, it is difficult to argue that Resolution 1325 has yet resulted in practical, functional shifts that are in any way on par with the discursive shift the resolution represents – and outrage does, indeed, seem like the appropriate response.

Nonetheless, one of the most interesting things about the Security Council and the UN more broadly is that *language sometimes matters*. In the UN, once member states have gone through the laborious process of negotiating the wording of a document, that “agreed language” (as it is called) changes what is possible in the future. It becomes the basis for cracking the door further open, for advocacy, for saying, “Here, you said this, now we can hold you accountable to it, it means you should be doing XYZ.” So whether Ambassadors even believe the statements they make at 1325 anniversary events almost matters less than the fact that the statements were made in the Security Council, and resolutions have been passed. I don’t want to push that point too far; certainly it would be much, much better if they believed and were deeply committed to those ideas. Then Council members would be more likely to integrate them into the Council’s work the other 364 days of the year. However, the language becomes the basis for advocacy, which becomes the basis for incremental change within UN entities, which becomes the basis for new practices and experience. The new practices and experiences become the basis for new learning and new ways of seeing things, which again becomes the basis for some additional institutional change – and around and around. Eventually, outcomes start to differ in ways that really matter.

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THE PROBLEMATIC SECURITISATION DEBATES

By Lothar Brock

Introduction

In the post-colonial order of the short 20th century, the political weight of the South derived at least in part from its inclusion into the struggle between East and West. For the South, this inclusion was a blessing *and* a curse at the same time. It was a blessing in as much as the confrontation between East and West gave the South political leverage in its struggle for emancipation. It was a curse in so far as the civilisational impetus and meaning of the emancipatory struggle was undermined by new forms of economic dependency, political intervention and socio-cultural alienation. Under these conditions, liberation movements, once in power, all too often turned to repression in order to secure their power and to increase their share in the post-colonial game of economic enrichment. This way, many of the post-colonial elites, instead of working on cohesive development policies, indulged in political and economic rent-seeking which allowed them to keep up a facade of modern statehood despite a pervasive lack of substance (Jackson and Rosberg 1982).

The end of the Cold War brought an end to this form of inclusion of the “new states” into world politics and the world economy. It thus could have been made use of as a new chance to finally live up to what emancipation from colonialism meant to people like Franz Fanon. Fanon (1961) understood emancipation as the act of leaving the colonial world behind not only politically but also mentally, by creating a new language in which to articulate and enhance the aspiration of people. A new language unfolded in the Post-Cold War era, indeed. However, it was not the language of emancipation but of adaptation to the almost complete hegemony of the West after the break-down of the East. Yet, this adaption did not proceed smoothly. In many countries including large parts of the former Socialist world, it was accompanied by large-scale collective violence. This violence was considered by the hegemonial states as constituting more than a mere nuisance. It was regarded as a serious danger to the stability and functioning of the new neo-liberal world order and as a threat to the security of the Global North if not to the world at large (Kaplan 1994; Huntington 1993).

In the perception of the Global North, failed, failing or simply weak states began to function prominently as threats to a reliable supply of the world economy with strategically important natural resources and as potential breeding grounds for

disruptive forms of migration and – especially after 11 September, 2001 – of global terrorism. In addition, poverty was seen as a source of environmental degradation which would increase and intensify social conflict. Thus, ‘Globalization’ was matched with a new focus for addressing global aspirations: security.

Whose Security?

Civil society did not stand aloof in this process. At least in part it even pioneered the securitisation of topics which it stood for (including development). It did so in the hope to be able to profit from the extraordinary value attached to security in High Politics and at the same time to contribute to the de-militarisation of security politics. Thus almost all the issues which civil society groups stand for today have been defined as security issue – from environmental security to gender security and cultural security. This strategy of securitisation clearly was and is pursued in opposition to the politics of “national security” which for instance offered a concept for framing hideous repression in Latin America during the Cold War in a way acceptable to public discourse in the West. In this regard, there is a continuing struggle over civil-society and governmental perceptions of security. As I will try to show the results of this struggle are quite mixed.

Security is not a given. Is it essentially contested. What kind of security are we talking about? Whose security? Security by which means? Thus reference to security or the "securitisation" of an issue can work many ways. In what follows I will therefore take up the question as to which extent the security discourse which enfolded at the end of the Cold War has provided the Global South with new leverage in dealing with the North and to which extent it has provided a basis for addressing poverty, environmental degradation and conflict in a more constructive manner than during the Cold War. May "securitisation" even provide a new focus for framing emancipation? I will start by addressing first the securitisation of North - South relations in the context of an extended notion of security. I will then turn to the question which effects the "securitisation" of North-South relations has had especially in the issue areas of poverty, environmental degradation and the transformation of conflict.

Speaking Security in the North - South Context – Co-opting the Security Concept

During the Cold War, security first and foremost stood for the prevention of nuclear war. Security policy was to deter the opponent from waging such a war by preparing for it. Academia was heavily involved in this kind of security business. Some researchers provided the necessary theoretical and practical footing. Others

criticised nuclear security politics as one of the most important sources of insecurity during the East-West confrontation. In addition there was the critique of nuclear security politics as a lever for stabilising the political and societal status quo on both sides of the demarcation line and beyond, i.e. in the South. In those days, critical peace research distanced itself from security research as such because the latter was understood to confine itself to crisis management instead of helping to overcome the East - West confrontation and to provide for a mere pacification of social struggles in the South instead of enhancing a much needed social change.

In the course of the 1980s, this critical attitude towards security began to fade. Parts of civil society together with enlightened politicians (Olof Palme, Willy Brandt) began to indulge in modifying the meaning of security (common security, global security in place of national security) (Palme 1982). Later on they began to 'securitise' the issues. In the 1960s and the 1970s, security was sharply distinguished from peace, while peace again was differentiated into negative peace (absence of war) and positive peace (absence of structural violence). In the 1980s, and especially after the end of the Cold War, security was redefined by those engaged in "securitisation" so as to include all the features of positive peace. Not all peace researchers were happy about this. But in the post-Cold War mood the temptation to refer to security as the central issue of one's own agenda for many was overwhelming. The reason for this is not hard to find.

Those who turned to an extended notion of security hoped to be able to fight the military security establishment with its own weapons, i.e. by taking up its language and using it in order to give more political thrust to their call for a de-militarisation of the way governments were and still are dealing with conflict. The idea was to take over the notion of security or at least to challenge the monopoly of the traditional security establishment in defining the meaning of security. This made sense, since "security" is among the top values which High Politics claim to stand for. By re-defining one's own aspirations in terms of security one can hope to increase the political weight of these aspirations. This way one may expect to kill two birds with one stone, i.e. to help scandalise military spending as being focused on secondary security threats on the one hand, and on the other to help channel the funds to be saved in the military field to other issues areas which, by naming them security issues, are signified as being of existential importance and therefore meriting exceptional treatment. In this way, the non-military notion of security makes use of the logic of talking in terms of military security. This logic was famously spelled out and elaborated by the Copenhagen School (Wæver 1995; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998).

In the context which is of interest here, securitisation implies that development, by being defined as a security issue, would attain an importance which it otherwise would not have. Thus, the donor countries could be expected to elevate development cooperation to an issue of High Politics. In this sense, the securitisation of North - South relations could be to the advantage of the Global South.

This could also work for the task of the UN to cut back on poverty and to care not only for the security of states but also for the security of people by making the "wealth of people" instead of the 'wealth of nations' the yard stick for measuring economic progress (UNDP 1992) and by focusing not only on 'national security' but also on 'human security' (UNDP 1994). Along this line, a notion of security which targets individual people and the communities they live in may help to upscale thinking in terms of a world society beyond a mere ('Westphalian') agglomeration of nation states.

However, whether securitisation works this way, is an open question. As already hinted, a security discourse does not simply mirror externally given threats. It rather involves competing attributions of meaning and relative importance to a public (or even a hitherto private) endeavour. While some actors may define an issue as a matter of security, others may reject this. Securitisation, therefore, does not always succeed. Whether it works or not depends on whether one finds a politically relevant audience willing to support the securitisation of certain issues. This audience can grow and shrink in the wake of securitisation and de-securitisation. For instance, securitisation may proceed by way of emphasizing the plight of the people in Afghanistan (securitisation of non-military issues), while downplaying the armed struggle of the Taliban (de-securitisation of military issues). Whether this undermines the legitimacy of the military struggle (against the Taliban) depends not only on an assessment of the situation in the field of contention (situation in Afghanistan), but also on the general political context in which it is being debated (international situation at large, domestic constellations within the intervening states).

Securitisation as the "militarisation" of Non-military Issues

Securitisation of non-military issues may promote civil peace building, but also the 'militarisation' of non-military issues like development cooperation (civil military cooperation). Also, the complexities of non-military issues (and the difficulties of changing them quickly) may support those who ask for military solutions or at least for a military stabilisation of a situation as a precondition for working on non-military problems (increasing the number of NATO soldiers in Afghanistan not in spite of, but rather because of the failure of military stabilization so far). In this context, the securitisation of non-military aspects of a conflict (plight of the people) may even help to legitimise military intervention as a mere corollary to civil conflict-resolution activities (Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan).

In general, securitisation by actors with a civil agenda which proceeds by widening the meaning of security so as to include non-military threats, may backfire. Securitisation focuses on *threats*, and in a world of threats, the military may not only retain its role, the public may even feel that military capabilities should be expanded in order to make sure that one does not founder in case supposedly non-

military conflicts escalate or non-military means of dealing with them fail. In short: securitisation may lead to increased feelings of insecurity calling for more extensive military contingency planning.

In addition, securitisation may not only proceed by claiming existential importance for a certain agenda. It may also lead to the institutionalisation of a state of exception which could undermine the very order which is to be defended (Huysmanns 2006). For instance, international terrorism has led to the introduction of homeland-defence schemes. However, homeland defence may become a threat to domestic security in as much as it undermines the fundamental freedoms which it claims to protect. At the international level, the fight against terrorism has led the UN Security Council to oblige every country to cooperate in this fight and to honour its black list of people who are in one way or the other suspected to support terrorist acts. Up to now there is no legal remedy against this list which thus undermines standards of adequate behaviour on which an effective rule of law depends.

So to what extent does the securitisation of North - South relations empower the South in dealing with the North and with its own domestic obstacles to a better life for all? Does securitisation offer a new language for addressing developmental issues or does it simply open up new ways of avoiding basic issues which, if taken up, would shake the foundations of present beliefs in common interests and common endeavours?

The Securitisation of North-South relations

In a certain way, North - South relations have always been linked to security. The very invention of development cooperation through Truman's Point-Four speech was based on the assumption that people in the South needed support because otherwise they would succumb to international communism. So, keeping the South or at least as much of it as possible, on the side of the West formed an essential part of Western strategic concerns in its struggle with the East. The Brandt Report went beyond this perspective by claiming that development was essential to the survival of both, North and South (Brandt Report 1980). This paralleled the attempts of the early 1980s to introduce the notion of common security which was to transcend the prevailing enemy images of the Cold War, (Palme 1982).

At the same time, civil society groups brought still another aspect of security to the fore by defining "world problems" in terms of security. Groups and experts working on environmental issues played a decisive role in this. As a result, 'environmental security' soon became a catch word which found a considerable echo in the general public. The environmentalists were quickly joined by other groups which began to define their agenda in terms of security. So in addition to environmental security the respective communities spoke of cultural security, gender security, food security

etc. As the Cold War ended, reference to an extended notion of security was quite common within and among different civil society communities.

The term environmental security points to two different aspects of addressing non-military affairs in terms of security:

- the creation of military conflict (or collective violence) over environmental scarcity; and
- the claim that a healthy environment is just as important to the survival of people as their physical security.

So under the first aspects, there is a causal linkage between the environment and physical security, while under the second aspect security as such is being re-defined.

In the early 1990s, a third way of addressing non-military issues in terms of security was introduced through the concept human security (UNDP 1994). As defined by Armitya Sen and Sadako Ogata, human security may be understood as freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to take action on ones own account (Commission on Human Security 2003). Thus human security takes up the extended notion of security (including the empowerment of individuals and groups) and postulates a new subject of the struggle for security: the individual and the community in which it lives. In sum, we come up with a security triangle produced by the extended security discourses of the past decades consisting of causal linkages between military and non-military threats, the extension of the meaning of security and the differentiation of the subjects of security.

In the North - South arena, the extended security discourses in addition to describing factual linkages contributed to the programmatic "merging of development and security" (Duffield 2001) which at first was pushed by civil society, but quickly was taken up by state agencies. Three contexts were of importance in this regard: *first*, the exposure of development cooperation to collective violence; *secondly*, the poor performance of a number of states in providing even the most basic public goods (first and foremost security); and *thirdly*, the transnationalization of terrorism for which poverty and state failure seemed to provide an "ideal" breeding ground.

As to the first point, the end of the Cold War and the persistence of violent conflict or the explosion of old conflicts into new violence lead to a re-assessment of the relationship between peace and development. While in the old days, development was considered to bring about peace, it was now assumed that peace was a precondition for development. Thus, the prevention of violence, conflict resolution and the consolidation of peace accords became part of the work to be done by the development agencies.

The second point, the poor performance of governments in many states of the South, refers to the gap between empirical and juridical statehood in large parts of

the South diagnosed by Jackson and Rosberg already in the early 1980s (Jackson and Rosberg 1982). The gap results from the international practice to recognise governments irrespective of the quality of the state which they represent – a practice which was underlined by the 1970 Friendly Relations Declaration of the UN General Assembly. The Declaration stressed non-intervention and self-determination against the practice of interference of East and West. The weakness of juridical statehood which is upheld from the outside became acute when the Cold War ended and governments of the North (West) were no longer willing to hand out political rents to the ruling elites of the South. This led to a de-stabilisation of the clientelistic networks on which the power of the ruling groups depended and contributed to the outbreak of violence which provoked military intervention with and without authorisation by the Security Council.

The third context in which development and security were being merged programmatically was transnational terrorism. In this context, the merger between the two refers to the need to improve the living conditions of people not only for their own sake, but also as a measure to deprive transnational terrorism of its human supplies. The notorious US National Security Strategy of 2002 put it this way:

A world where some live in comfort and plenty, while half of the human race lives on less than \$ 2 a day, is neither just nor stable. Including all of the world's poor in an expanding circle of development – and opportunity – is a moral imperative and one of the top priorities of US international policy (*US National Security Strategy 2002:21*).

This way, development was elevated into the very centre of High Politics. Before discussing what this meant, let us briefly look at what happened to the military in the meantime.

Contrary to the expectations that went along with the securitisation of non-military issues by civil society, the role of the military was greatly expanded. Territorial defence was replaced by global intervention as the main focus of military activities. This meant that the South became the major target area of Western military security politics. In part this re-orientation went along with the expansion of peace missions and collective security within the UN system. But the latter did not include military capacity building of the UN in accord with Article 43 of the Charter. Instead, the Security Council established the practice of authorising member states to take measures – including the use of force – which they deemed adequate to restore the peace. This way national governments kept the authority over the actual application of force. In addition, national military capacities (after a short down-turn in the first half of the 1990s) were replenished and reorganised so as to enable the respective countries to intervene individually or through coalitions of the willing in conflict around the world. So who got the better of whom in the post-Cold War security discourse?

Balance Sheet of Securitisation

Getting back to the three modes of securitisation (referring to causal linkages, extending the meaning of security and differentiating its subjects) the following observations may be warranted:

1. Securitisation of poverty has helped to bring the Global South back into focus of Western world politics after a slackening of attention immediately after the end of the Cold War. On the part of Western governments, this securitisation was driven by the transnationalization of terrorism, the threat to strategic life lines of Western commercial interests and the specter of disruptive migration. This has had some positive effects, e.g. with regard to the institutionalisation of non-military conflict resolution and the mobilisation of additional funds for the global health sector. But the over-all effect on alleviating poverty remains marginal. At mid-term, work on the Millennium Development Goals was far behind schedule and the prospects for catching up are dim. Also, the South has not really been able to expand its leverage in negotiating trade conditions. On the other hand, emphasizing the existence of causal linkages between security and development has helped the military to reclaim its competence in a situation when it was under pressure to retreat (after the end of the Cold War). The definition of poverty, environmental degradation, climate change and even new plagues as security risks has not swayed the balance between military and civil conflict resolution in favour of the latter. To the contrary, the military has not only remained a seemingly indispensable force in the security game, but its role has been globalised and linked to development in the context of post-Cold War interventions. Instead of the materialization of a peace dividend, world expenditures for the military are on the rise again. In spite of increasing utterings (not the least by the military itself) that conflicts like the one in Afghanistan cannot be solved by military means the prospects for a major shift from military to civil conflict resolution are still dim.
2. Extending the notion of security may have helped to put more emphasis behind a rights-based approach to development. Securitisation may also have encouraged conceptual innovation in development cooperation which today centres around the notions of empowerment and ownership (Paris Accord of 2005 and ensuing 'process'). On the other hand, widening concepts is a risky business. Thus, the extension of the notion of security was paralleled by the extension of the notion of defence so that it includes not only the defence against an armed attack or the pre-emption of a clear and present danger in a given moment but also the prevention of the evolution of a threat in the future. In addition, the extended notion of security has provided a new basis for the legitimization of military security policy in as much as the latter can now present itself as just one aspect of a whole array of security activities. This

is how the actual use of military force turned from a taboo (during the Cold War) into a routine in dealing with conflict since the end of the Cold War.

3. The differentiation of the subjects of security (security of people and their communities) in abstract terms has the greatest potential for re-shaping the security game. Reference to "national security" has always served to legitimise international war and domestic repression (Latin America in the 1970s). To move from "national" to "human security" could work against this practice. However, this new focus may also imply that additional reasons for applying force are added to the traditional ones – especially if backed-up by a "re-definition of sovereignty" and of the prohibition of the use of force (Art. 2/4 UN Charter) at the expense of non-intervention and self-determination. From the late 19th century onward the use of force in some cases has been justified by humanitarian considerations.
4. With reference to this practice, after the Cold War "humanitarian intervention" was claimed by some to constitute customary international law which served the (international) protection of people in conflict and as such did not fall under the general prohibition of the use of force. With a view to the atrocities committed in Civil War and under government repression, there are indeed good reasons for the international protection of people. Yet, the crucial question is how this is being achieved. The NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 prompted Canada to form an international commission which was to come to grips with this problem (ICISS 2001). The work of this commission was taken up by the World Summit Resolution in September - 2005, which stated that the "responsibility to protect" rests first and foremost with each government. The task of the international community is to assist governments to live up to this responsibility. Only if this manifestly does not work, the Security Council (and it alone) may decide on enforcement measures. In which way this resolution will affect politics remains to be seen – especially in view of the fact that it was not possible to oblige the Permanent Five to agree on abstaining from using their veto in the four cases warranting intervention which are enumerated by the Summit resolution. The resolution included a stress on "the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and International Law". This consideration has still not taken place.

Conclusion

The test for determining into which direction security policies will develop could be the way the "Responsibility to Protect" is going to be handled in the future. Instead

of discarding the entire notion as being just another disguise for intervention, it should be used as an arena for re-directing the security policies from the protection of states to the protection of people and from the military to civil conflict resolution. This goes also for civil military cooperation. On the one hand, it may allow non-military interests to extend their influence to the military, on the other hand, it can help to internalise the participation of the military in dealing with non-military issues (like poverty, environmental degradation and the like). In sum, the effects of securitisation if measured against the agenda of civil society remain ambivalent. It may be advisable to refrain from seeing the world as a place exposed to all-pervasive and ever-proliferating threats. Thus, speaking security, if anything, should be scaled down and done with greater care than it is now done.

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SELLING WARS

By Gunnar Garbo

Introduction

When Hitler's troops invaded Norway in 1940, their planes spread leaflets in addition to bombs, declaring that the troops came to protect the Norwegian people and secure our freedom and independence. In warfare lies like these are common. Two non-profit journalism organisations in the US documented that during the first two years after 11 September, President Bush and his top officials issued at least 935 false statements about reasons for attacking Iraq. Bush led with 259 lies.¹⁹

But the tradition of leaders' lying is older. Already Plato proclaimed the right of leaders to tell lies in order to deceive both enemies and their own citizens for the benefit of the state. A person who enthusiastically picked up Plato's advice was the Chicago professor of philosophy Leo Strauss, who taught his doctrines to a number of the top people who joined the staff of the Bush administration. Abram Shulsky, who produced a considerable part of the misinformation about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, once said that he had learned from Strauss that "deception is the norm in political life" (Drury 2005:1).

In his farsighted book *1984* George Orwell, however, pointed out that it is not enough for authoritarian leaders just to tell specific lies. He found that their ultimate aim is to create a new reality in the minds of people, different from the real world. Orwell (1977: 16) gave us illustrative examples like: *War Is Peace, Freedom Is Slavery and Ignorance Is Strength*. If the leaders can make most people internalise double-speak of this kind and believe that the new way of speaking depicts reality, they have actually changed the world in which we live.

What we say goes

In connection with the First Gulf War President Bush sr demonstrated that he had learned "the manufacture of consent". Stating that the US had got a new credibility, the president proclaimed: "What WE say goes.". The administration of his son was following in senior's footsteps. A year after 9/11 Ron Suskind, a columnist who had investigated the White House for a number of years, happened to mention the intellectual principles of empiricism and enlightenment in a conversation with a

¹⁹ <http://transfondo-noticias.blogspot.com/2008/01/false-statements-preceded-war.htm>
26.01.08.

Accessed:

presidential adviser. “That’s not the way in which the world really works anymore”, was the answer he got. “We are an empire now, and when we act we create our own reality. And while you are studying that reality, we’ll act again creating other new realities, which you can study too. WE are history’s actors, and all of you will be left to just study what we do” (Suskind 2004).

This is the arrogance of power. It is the way empires talk. Dictatorial authority displaces arguments. The trick is to reduce the general public to a proper spectator role. As Noam Chomsky (1991) points out, the general population should be deprived of the kinds of association that might lead to independent thought and political action. Constructing a grand edifice of lies terrorising the domestic audience by images of menacing threats from “failed states” like Iran and North Korea they manufacture consent to military interventions - instead of trying to solve conflicts by peaceful means, which they are committed to by the UN Charter.

The Global War on Terror

Sometimes factual developments come in handy for the deceivers. Karl Rove, who for several years was President Bush’s closest adviser, recently said to an audience that “History sometimes sends you things, and 9/11 came our way”. In an article about *Euphemism and American Violence*, Professor David Bromwich (2008) referred to this and pointed out how President Bush viewed the September 11 attack as an opportunity. The leadership should do far more than respond to the attack, he felt. Better to use it as an opportunity to “go massive”, as Donald Rumsfeld put it: “Sweep it all up. Things related and not”.²⁰

That is what they did. Instead of treating the 9/11 attack as an international crime, which it was, they responded by launching what they called *a global war on terrorism*. This phrase was a carefully chosen example of double-talk. It might indicate something as harmless as “a war on aids” or “a war on poverty”. But it could also mean an aggressive use of military weapons. The US Congress willingly gave the president the authority he wanted to use military force wherever in the world he found persons that he determined had contributed to the 9/11 attack and who might repeat similar performances in the future.²¹ As we have seen in Afghanistan and Iraq, his war on terror became what has rightly been called a war of terror. And it primarily hits masses of ordinary people who had nothing to do with 9/11.

Terrorism is not an armed enemy. It is a concept naming a special *way of fighting*, the harassing of people in order to bend their leaders to the will of the harassers. Western governments tend to define it as a cruel tool solely used by rebels. But in fact militant states are terrorizing people much more devastatingly than insurgent movements.

²⁰ Cited in the article by Bromwich (2008).

²¹ Joint Resolution S.J. RES. 23, 107th Congress. To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.

Missiles and Bombs Can't Kill a Concept

Missiles and bombs can't kill a concept. Extinguishing terrorism depends on a change in the attitudes of common people and politicians all over the world. Not the kind of brainwashing which is facilitated by double-talk, but change promoted by ethical attention, rational reflection, open debate and popular mobilisation. Terrorism may be overcome when all states at long last learn to respect human rights and international law. Especially, it presupposes measures to remove those underlying causes of violence which the UN General Assembly 20 years ago described as "misery, frustration, grievance and despair, and which cause people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an effort to effect radical changes"²².

The Western war leaders paid no attention to the UN resolution, if they had seen it at all. Neither did they care about the motives which Osama bin Laden gave for 9/11, quoting decades of Western support to oppression in Palestine, sanctions against Iraq and the existence of US bases in Saudi Arabia as reasons for the attack. This was obviously oldfashioned language, which did not conform to the new realities which Bush and Blair were creating with their rhetorics.

They used the 9/11 attack as an opportunity to launch a war against states in which they anyhow wanted to produce "regime change" as they call it. This notion must by all means be distinguished from forced interference through military aggression. According to President Bush the plane hijackers carried out their acts because they hated the freedom of the United States. However, to avoid further attacks on free societies it was not sufficient to fight terrorists. It was also necessary to limit the domestic freedoms which Bush and Blair presumably were fighting for by restrictions on private integrity, on free travel, on legal protection and on the right to information.

It may be difficult for people to understand the need to suppress freedom in order to promote it. You will first grasp its logic when you internalise double-speak.

After the hijackers on 11th September 2001 killed three thousand persons, including themselves, history was seen by the war leaders to begin anew. Neither the Bush administration nor the main media paid much attention to the fact that nearly one hundred thousand people were killed in the United States during the first six years after the attack through the more trivial practice of murder (Herbert 2007). Neither were they much shocked by the fact that international acts of terrorism increased sevenfold after Bush started his war on terrorism (Bergen and Cruickshank 2007).

Even Norway Is Following Suit

Rushing to the defence of USA in Central Asia Norwegian governments have exposed even Norway to the possible risk of terrorist retaliation. But the supreme commander of the Norwegian defence forces, general Diesen, has tried to calm down

²² Measures to prevent international terrorism. General Assembly A/RES/47/159, 7 December 1987.

public opposition to war by his own contribution to the double-speak vocabulary. He states that *offense is defence*. According to his strategic thinking civilian assistance to rebuilding Afghanistan is offensive. Military operations against Afghan resistance is on the other hand defensive. Birgit Brock-Utne (1985) in a book where she describes the work of the peace heroine Bertha von Suttner tells how she similarly analysed the great powers before the first world war, both of the enemies claiming that their weapons were defensive while the weapons of their enemies were offensive. The general's problem is to convince Afghans about the reasonableness of turning black to white. Ignorant local people may believe that words still mean what they used to do.

Demonizing Enemies and Calling an Invasion a Humanitarian Action

To demonise the enemies as evil people the way Bush did with his Axis of Evil speech is of course a valuable contribution to the new way of thinking. Groups who oppose the US in Afghanistan or Iraq are regularly called Taliban or al-Qaeda. These groups are seen as outlaws and free game. We are told that in Iraq a huge part of them are foreign intruders, though 98 to 99 per cent of the prisoners whom the occupiers have interned, are Iraqi citizens. The al-Sadr militia is vilified as "criminals" or "criminal gangs". More than one half of the US occupying forces are mercenaries, hired by the occupier. They are referred to as contractors or security missions.

There is a striking similarity in the speech used by the aggressors. When the late Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 they portrayed the invasion as a humanitarian intervention. They did not come to conquer anyone. Their aim was to prevent the establishment of a terrorist regime and to protect the people against genocide. Eleven years later the US and the UK also invaded Afghanistan, this time to protect themselves against terrorism, which also happened to be in the best interest of the Afghan people. They wanted namely to promote democracy and human rights. "We are not conquerors", declared Bush, "we are liberators" (Lanine 2008).

Both invasions were proclaimed to be in conformity with international law, though none of them was. Governments on both sides called on their peoples to "back our troops", who were fighting for a noble cause. In both cases, the invaders paid much less attention to the huge number of Afghan victims than to their own losses. And in both cases the invaders warned that premature withdrawal of their troops would lead to catastrophic conditions for the local people. At long last, the Soviet forces did all the same retire, and the Afghans seemed to suffer somewhat less under the rule of Taliban. The USA and NATO are on their part escalating the war in order to avoid "losing face" or, to put it in their language, not to expose the war-stricken population to the loss of peace and freedom.

A similar example is provided by the conflict over Georgia. While main media in the West repeated George Bush's demand that "Russia's government must respect Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty", they kept silent about NATO's suppression of Yugoslav territorial integration and sovereignty in connection with Kosovo. And when these media by and large neglected the oil as a contributing factor behind US and UK intervention in Iraq, they saw the Russian involvement in Georgia as an effort by Moscow to control the world economy via oil and gas.²³

Torture Is "Interrogation in Depth"

Just as destroying vegetation in Vietnam was called *pacification* and invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq were presented as *defence against terrorism or atomic weapons*, US acts of torture in Abu Ghraib or elsewhere are termed *interrogation in depth*. One of the means of questioning which president Bush reserved the right to allow is named *waterboarding*. This implies starting to drown a suspect, but humanely interrupt the drowning just before the victim dies. We find the same preference for euphemism in a number of other cases. When Norway participated in NATO's war over Kosovo, our Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik described it as a peace operation. To make the attack seem in conformity with international law the Government produced false testimonies to Parliament (Garbo 2003).

Double Moral Standards

Therefore, we are dealing not only with double-language, but also with double moral standards. While Iran and North Korea are being threatened not to acquire weapons of mass destruction, Israel, which has long ago produced atomic bombs and quietly threatened its neighbours with them, is never blamed. And while Iraq was forced by war to withdraw from Kuwait no pressure is being put on Israel to return to the Palestinians, the land of theirs which Israel has occupied and annexed as its own.

Mainstream media in the West have gone along with all this misuse of power, practically without opposing it. A few fine journalists, like Robert Fisk and John Pilger, have stood out as rare exceptions, focusing on the impact of the military violence on the victims in the form of dead or crippled corpses, suffering relatives and homeless refugees, *collateral damage* as this is called by the double-speakers.²⁴ When main media have attended to impacts on the ground, the difference has been enormous between the attention shown towards the casualties of one's own armies as compared to far greater offers suffered by the populations of the countries which are exposed to our pacification.

²³ Correcting for the distorted vision of the corporate media. *Media Lens*: 4 September, 2008.

²⁴ See Carol Cohn's introductory chapter to this part of the book.

How to Disclose and Counter the Double-language of the War-Mongers?

It is a job for all of us, especially for educators, to disclose and counter the double-language of the war-mongers. People need to learn more about the ways in which the meaning of words may be twisted. Words may be used to express thoughts, to hide thoughts or to hide lack of thoughts. They may also be used to lie, to misinform and to fabricate a false consciousness. People should be less impressed by authorities. In most cases, political leaders don't understand more than common people, though they pretend to be in the know. We need the ability to listen critically, to distinguish between proven facts and dubious assertions and to make use of alternative means of information and communication.

Above all this is a challenge for journalists. Today they tend to defend themselves as *professional*, when they are in fact giving priority to writing and programming, which produce that audience and further those profits which owners and advertising corporations are insisting on. Even if direct censorship is avoided, most journalists are caught in an obscure practice of withholding information which is not to the advantage of power holders. When a US court in February 2007 upheld the right of the Bush administration to keep persons suspected of terrorism in jail for unlimited periods without access to civilian courts, the US media neglected this news, concentrating instead on scandals around the pop star Britney Spears (Bredesen 2008).

Media professionalism ought to be something different, namely to provide information which shows readers and listeners the realities behind political and commercial rhetorics and to tell people what they need to know in order to check their masters and influence the forming of our societies. A leading Norwegian journalist, Ragnar Vold (1956), many years ago said that when Hitler stated that he wanted peace with all his neighbours, newspapers should not simply quote the dictator, but announce that now Hitler had produced one more of his lies.

That is still a good piece of advice.

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FEMINIST DECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE WARS ON TERRORISM

By Berenice A. Carroll

Introduction

This paper addresses the uses and abuses of language to promote the so-called wars on terrorism, focusing on feminist critical analysis of how gendered language has been used as an instrument of war.

The term deconstruction is not intended to suggest a special emphasis upon contemporary deconstructionist or postmodernist theory, with which I have some differences. But feminists were deconstructing masculinist language and institutions long before academic “deconstruction” was made popular and, indeed, appropriated from feminism by male authorities, now imagined to be its originators. Here, the term *deconstruction* means that the so-called wars on terrorism have been constructed by their perpetrators around certain concepts and practices that call for feminist analysis.

Feminists have been addressing this theme for many years, long before George W. Bush unilaterally declared his disastrous War on Terrorism. Birgit Brock-Utne (1985) was among the leading spirits of the critique of patriarchal male violence and war, in her pioneering book, *Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective*, and in her influential earlier and later publications and lectures around the world. Carol Cohn (1987) also led the way in her incisive deconstruction of “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals”. Cohn wrote there: *“Feminists and others who seek a more just and peaceful world, have a dual task before us: A. a deconstructive project and B. a reconstructive project that are intimately linked....”* (Forcey 1989: 64). We explore here how feminists have actively engaged in both projects in the 21st century.

Feminist analysis of the current wars being fought allegedly against terrorism began almost from the moment of the attacks of 11 September, 2001, especially in many writings that appeared rapidly on the internet. One important site is The Crisis—Open Forum, at Women’s WORLD (www.wworld.org), where the Archive houses a powerful array of writings from many countries in the months after the attacks. The examples in the following paragraphs may be found at the site: www.wworld.org/archive.

As early as September 16, Sumaya Farhat-Naser of Palestine and Gila Svirsky of Israel, women who “refuse to be enemies”, wrote jointly to President Bush to deplore

the attacks and call for an end to the cycle of violence. On 17 September, Susan Sontag repudiated the “self-righteous drivel and outright deceptions being peddled in the US by public figures and TV commentators”. She rejected the language used to characterise the events as a “cowardly” attack on “civilisation”, or “liberty”, or “humanity”, or “the free world”, and argued that they were rather an attack “on the world’s self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions”, such as the ongoing bombing of Iraq: “If the word ‘cowardly’ is to be used, it might be more aptly applied to those who kill from beyond the range of retaliation, high in the sky”.

Sunera Thobani (Canada/Tanzania), on October 16, addressed the pressure on academics to “use only disembodied, objectified language” and chose deliberately to describe the record of US foreign policy as “unleashing horrific levels of violence around the world,” recalling the hundreds of thousands or millions of deaths incurred in US-supported coups, dictatorships, death-squads, wars, and sanctions in Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Vietnam, Iraq, and elsewhere; in sum, a “path of US foreign policy soaked in blood”. Noting that her critics objected not so much to the veracity of her account but rather to her tone (“inflammatory, excessive, inelegant, un-academic, angry”). Thobani insisted that the use of “embodied language”, evoking leading feminist writers such as Mahasweto Devi and Toni Morrison, is essential to counter the dehumanization of bare statistics and terms like collateral damage, smart weapons, or surgical and technical precision, all having the effect of “rendering invisible the suffering bodies”. Thobani argued strongly the need to “engage in the language and politics of embodied thinking and speaking”, particularly to make visible “what is actually done to women’s bodies in racist colonial relations”.

Ritu Menon, of India, writing on 8 November, reflected on the work of Sri Lankan women dealing with terrorism, and on efforts of the international women’s movement to support the women of Afghanistan long before the US turned against the Taliban. Menon expanded the critique of language to encompass not only the culpability of US foreign policy but rather both sides, or all sides, of the conflicts: “Bush-men or cave-men, their idiom is the same. Both terrorism and counter-terrorism share the same language, are part of the same masculinist discourse. It’s a macho do, as someone said, a war-gasm.” (On “wargasm,” a term attributed to the Weathermen, 1969, see Morgan 2001: 154.).

Critique of the uses and abuses of language concerning terrorism has come also from other quarters, such as the field of communication studies. Yet we find there a crucial silence, for example, in the analysis by John Collins and Ross Glover (2002) in *Collateral Language: A User’s Guide to America’s New War*. This important volume draws together illuminating essays on many of the key terms and concepts prevalent in current discourse: civilisation versus barbarism, cowardice, evil, freedom, fundamentalism, jihad, justice, targets, terrorism, and others. The editors make

the startling claim that language itself is a terrorist organisation, in view of “the real effects of language on citizens, especially in time of war. Language, like terrorism, targets civilians and generates fear in order to effect political change (Collins and Glover 2002: 2). But while this is a powerful insight, the authors and editors of the Collins and Glover book generally fail to integrate into their analysis the influence of languages and practices of patriarchy.

One of the first and still most important books reflecting the feminist analysis is *After Shock: September 11, 2001, Global Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Susan Hawthorne and Bronwyn Winter (2002). The contributors include a scintillating array of leading feminist and pacifist voices: Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, Robin Morgan, Delhi Women, Women Living under Muslim Law, Barbara Kingsolver, Barbara Lee, Urvashi Butalia, Sunera Thobani, Gabriela Network, Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Federation of Uganda Women, Vandana Shiva, Barbara Ehrenreich, Sonali Kolhatkar, Naomi Klein, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom–Australia, Bat Shalom, UNIFEM, Cynthia Enloe, Valentine Moghadam, Christine Delphy, Rosalind Petchesky, Nahla Abdo, Arundhati Roy, Evelynne Accad, and still others. The editors have organised the many rich contributions around several deconstructive questions (*Whose Terrorism? Whose War? Whose Peace?*) which challenge the omission of women and gender in the simplistic, stereotyping projections of hate characteristic of the rhetoric and policies of the Wars on Terrorism. (Examples are cited below). Another early collection, co-edited by Marjorie Agosín and Betty Jean Craige (2002), entitled *To Mend the World: Women Reflect on 9/11* is also global in scope, but with a stronger representation of Latin American women. Especially poignant here are entries calling attention to the significance of the date, September 11, in the Latin American context. It was on that same date in the year 1973 that the democratically elected government of Chile, under President Salvador Allende, was overthrown by a military coup engineered by the US (CIA). The contributions to this volume are also distinctive in their literary character, selected by the editors in the belief “that literature mends the world, articulates the possibility of peace, and alters the rhythms of history,” illuminating “what unites the diverse members of our human community” (2002: 10 – 11).

A third volume, entitled *Terror, Counter-Terror: Women Speak Out* co-edited by Ammu Joseph and Kalpana Sharma (2003), raises deconstructive questions similar to those posed in *After Shock*: “Whose interests are ‘national interests’, whose security is ‘national security’ and who defines their agendas?” Many of the contributions highlight voices and experiences of women of India and other South-West Asian countries and the Middle East, while focusing particularly on the meanings, uses, and gendered character of nationalism, patriotism, militarism, and religion.

Most recently, *War and Terror: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Karen Alexander and Mary E. Hawkesworth (2008), provides articles originally published in *Signs*, including several dealing with women in African countries. This collection has a

more academic and formally theoretical character than the earlier works noted above, though the issues, questions, and content are similar, and the lines between theory, literature, and politics are always difficult to discern.

These rich and complex works cannot be adequately reviewed in the space available here, but we may sketch in broad strokes a few of the main points of these feminist deconstructions of the wars on terrorism, as follows:

Sexist and Mysogynist Language and Stereotypes

It has been widely noted in feminist writings (though most often ignored elsewhere) that *sexist and misogynist language and stereotypes* are persistently used in arguments and pronouncements by those promoting, prosecuting, and perpetuating militarism and wars. The association of aggressive fighting behaviour with manliness and of more peaceable behaviours with effeminacy is centuries old and persists today. As Robin Morgan (2001: xvi) put it: “We need to look at the cross-cultural pattern that forms the central knot of terrorism: the intersection of violence, eroticism, and what is considered masculinity. We need to change a definition of manhood And we — women *and* men — *can* change it.”

Sexist Solipsism or Erasure of Women and Gender

Erasure of women’s experiences, concerns, knowledge, needs, presence, contributions, or demands, is pervasive in writings, policies, and action relating to military affairs and wars. Feminist studies, publications, advocacy for change, demonstrations and appeals may be met with occasional tokenistic lip service in public pronouncements or United Nations resolutions (such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325),²⁵ but seldom with genuine respect and implementation. In the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, and for years after, the silencing of women’s voices in the public arena was massive. See, for example, Madeleine Bunting’s analysis of the disappearance of women’s voices from mainstream media in England during the week following the 9/11 attacks (Hawthorne and Winter 2002: 51-53), and the more extensive analysis of this phenomenon by Susan Faludi (2007) in *The Terror Dream* (Ch. 1, esp. 44 ff.).

Appropriation and Distortion of Feminist Concerns Has Been Used to Justify and Support War and State Terrorism

Laura Bush made the claim explicitly in the war against Afghanistan: “The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women” (Agosín and

²⁵ See a discussion of this resolution by Carol Cohn in the introductory chapter of this book

Craige 2002: 82). But feminist critics have repudiated the validity of this position: “Nationalist and international mobilisation for war cannot go forward in our name or under the sign of ‘concern for women’” (Hawthorne and Winter 2002: 90). RAWA, the *Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan*, who were the first and the most daring challengers of the Taliban regime, were bitterly disappointed to find that the US, far from effectively liberating women by raining death and destruction on their country in the war on terrorism, allowed the return to power of many of the most egregious and brutal fundamentalist warlords of the pre-Taliban era (Hawthorne and Winter, 2002: 262-263; also Rohini Hensman, in Joseph and Sharma, 2003: 35-36). In both Afghanistan and Iraq, claims of the US having brought liberation to women have been sustained only by silencing those voices proclaiming the realities of extreme suffering, deprivation, and insecurity imposed on women by military action and by US support for fundamentalist forces.

An Underlying Parallelism between Patriarchal Structures, Ideological and Theological Arguments, and Military Actions

Feminist critics of the wars on terrorism have exposed an underlying parallelism between patriarchal structures, ideological and theological arguments, and military actions of opposing sides. Comparisons and parallels between George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden call into question the foundations of their claims and destructive actions against each other’s peoples (Hensman, in Joseph and Sharma 2003: 22). The agonistic binary logic of their lethal policies was challenged in October 2001 by Transnational Feminists, rejecting “the binaries of civilisation versus barbarism, modernity versus tradition, and West versus East ... In fact, terror roams the world in many guises and is perpetrated under the sign of many different nations and agents” (Hawthorne and Winter 2002: 90).

Diverse Women for Diversity, of New Delhi, as early as 1 October 2001, offered a remarkable deconstruction of the concepts of terror and tools of terror, introducing the terms structural terror (similar to the idea of structural violence familiar to many in the field of peace studies, see e.g. Brock-Utne 1989), and capitalist patriarchal terrorism. While the latter term might be dismissed as familiar-sounding jargon, it is distinctive in linking capitalism itself with terrorism (decoupling the stereotypical linkage of terrorism with anti-Western, anti-capitalist radicalism), and in foregrounding the patriarchal character of terrorism, wherever it may be found (Hawthorne and Winter 2002: 82-83).

An Escalation of Exploitation and Violence Against Women

The so-called war on terrorism provides apparent justification for the escalation of militarisation of society and expansion of militarism and military bases around the world. As Rubina Saigol, of Pakistan, argues, this produces an expansion of “economies based on the flesh trade” around the military bases, and a concomitant escalation of sexual and domestic exploitation and violence against women, at home and abroad (Joseph and Sharma 2003: 47-49). Saigol urges that feminists also need to question “the excessive moral relativism of the discourse on terror”, allowing states to engage in terror by defining as they choose who is a terrorist, what constitutes a “just war,” and how this justifies them in denying rights and violating international norms. She argues that “some universally agreed upon standards, inclusive of women and everyone else” need to be devised and implemented, perhaps through use of the International Criminal Court.

Sexuality, in Particular, a Pervasive Conception of Sexuality as Male Penetration and Dominance of Women’s Bodies and Lives

Sexuality, in particular, a pervasive conception of sexuality as male penetration and dominance of women’s bodies and lives, has been identified by some feminist critics of both terrorism and the wars on terrorism as a major underlying factor. Kate Millett (1970:42) had set the theme in the more general context of her pathbreaking book, *Sexual Politics*: Sex is deep at the heart of our troubles, ... and unless we eliminate the most pernicious of our systems of oppression, unless we go to the very center of the sexual politic and its sick delirium of power and violence, all our efforts at liberation will only land us again in the same primordial stews.”

Robin Morgan’s *The Demon Lover* (1989, 2001) and Evelyne Accad’s *Sexuality and War: Literary Masks of the Middle East* (1990) both carried forward this theme in application to the analysis of terrorism.

Morgan’s 2001 edition was given a neutral subtitle, *The Roots of Terrorism*, but the original subtitle was *On the Sexuality of Terrorism*. Morgan (2001: xvi) described the *persona* of the terrorist, “or, depending on one’s view, the freedom fighter”, as “the ultimate sexual idol of a male-centered cultural tradition that stretches from pre-Biblical times to the present: he is the logical extension of the patriarchal hero/martyr. He is the Demon Lover, and society is (secretly or openly) fascinated by him.” Morgan recognises that women can also be terrorists, but she describes them as “token terrorists”, following men into these forms of action (most often “their” men, the Demon Lovers), and points out (in general correctly) that men make up the overwhelming majority of “terrorists” (2001: 63-64, 180-216).

Both Morgan and Accad have conceptualized sexuality as a complex of physical, psychological, social, and cultural acts and relationships. In *Sexuality and War*, Accad (1990: 11-12) disputed the view that sexuality is less important as a causative factor in society than economic and political factors, and argued that without the revolutionary potential of sexuality, there can be no real transformation of social relations. Accad again stressed the central role of sexuality in an essay entitled "The Phallus of September 11" (Hawthorne and Winter 2002: 412-425), and again argued that a revolutionary feminist theory must incorporate a discourse on sexuality. Contrary to the widespread dismissal of women's issues as unimportant in time of war, "if women's issues were dealt with from the beginning, wars might be avoided, and revolutionary struggles and movements for liberation would take on a very different path" (2002:419).

Although much more remains to be said, I would like to return in conclusion to Carol Cohn's remarks on the deconstructive and reconstructive tasks before us. Cohn saw the deconstructive task as a difficult and long-term project: "The dominant voice of militarized masculinity and decontextualized rationality speaks so loudly in our culture, it will remain difficult for any other voices to be heard until that voice loses some of its power to define what we hear and how we name the world—until that voice is delegitimated." It may be hoped that the feminist deconstructions of the wars on terror considered above will help to achieve that goal.

Cohn describes the reconstructive task before us as that of "creating compelling alternative visions of possible futures, a task of recognizing and developing alternative conceptions of rationality, and a task of creating rich and imaginative alternative voices, diverse voices whose conversations with each other will invent those futures" (Cohn 1987, in: Forcey, 1989: 64). That work has also begun.

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CANCER SPEAKS IN WAR LANGUAGE

By Evelyne Accad

Introduction

I had not been hit by disease until my breast cancer in 1994. With this disease, I entered a world I had never known before which immediately evoked in me violence and war. Throughout my book, *Cancer Journeys*, I draw consistently on the same parallel as a leitmotif: cancer and war (Accad 2000). They are the two plagues of our century gone mad.

The connection between the language of cancer and that of violence and of war became immediately clear to me when I underwent a mastectomy (Accad 2001). I was in terrible pain when I woke up after the operation, and I was given what are commonly known as “pain killers.” I realised then an uncannily frequent use in medicine of words that connote violence. The expression, pain killers, belongs, I believe, to American culture, while in French they are called anti-pains, getting rid of pain!

The connection, you might say, is first of all subjective. Having suffered in my body through the war in Lebanon and through breast cancer, having witnessed the agony and death of loved ones during the bombing of the city, and at the bedside of friends succumbing to cancer, I got the feeling that the two were connected. You might say a subjective realisation, but it does depend on what one does with it. Closer analysis has indeed produced a number of similarities.

Chemotherapy – an Effect of World War II

Let us start with the facts. We should remember that chemotherapy was discovered during World War II, “thanks” if I dare say, to the observed effects of nerve gas. After an explosion of mustard gas bomb containing nitrogen in a submarine, it was observed that those on board who had been exposed were all deficient in white blood cells. Since leukaemia features a surplus of white blood cells, it was thought that nitrogen could halt the proliferation of the undesired cells. Thus, chemotherapy was born.

The Rise of Cancer in Lebanon

Another historical link that had a great impact on me has been Lebanon. Lebanon has had its share of war and destruction in the past decades. Between 1975 and 1992 it was torn apart by a civil war fed by many countries worldwide that cashed in with sales of weapons to various militias, sometimes to both sides, regardless of alliance. Some militias in exchange for money and weapons buried nuclear waste products in various parts of Lebanon. The Lebanese population is now paying the price with a rise in cancers of all kinds. Cancers of the mind and heavy depressions plague the youth that have had to deal with the war. The wounds and scars are visible. It will take a long time for the country and its people to heal. And then two summers ago, Israel hit again in response to Hezbollah capturing of two of their soldiers, and managed to destroy the whole infrastructure of the country, polluting the air, sea and land, leaving behind millions of fragmentation bombs. It will take years again for Lebanon to come out of this new disaster!

Lebanon is only one case among others. We should remind ourselves here of the scandal caused by depleted uranium (DU), which created so many disasters all over the world, among warring factions of the dominant countries as well as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, disasters which the military and governments have tried to deny.

Military Metaphors in the Treatment of Cancer

Here are the facts: In the treatment of cancer, military metaphors and violent images abound. The body is ‘attacked’ by poisons in chemotherapy, “nuked” as some say in radiotherapy; patients undergo “radiation”; surgical intervention is called an “operation”.

Such expressions belong to modern, “scientific” medicine which has broken away from crafty traditional medicine going back to Ibn Sina. The patient becomes an operating technical–scientific field exactly like modern warfare.

Cancer victims enter, or are pushed into, a space which I have called “a zone of illness,” where they lose control over their lives and their freedom of choice; and this state, too, resembles that of concentration camp victims. Patients enter an organisation conceived as a rational machine, an industrial machine made to treat the disease, one whose discourse is not to give a conscious choice to the patient but to orient her/him in a programmed direction. The patient is not warned about many of the consequences of the treatment she/he will be subjected to, but discovers them on the way: castrations, mutilations, loss of certain limbs’ use, certain pains, threat of other treatment-induced cancers, weakness, debilitation, fragility and death threats. They are accompanied by other consequences often warned about but

minimised as “secondary effects” while actually so central: baldness, nausea, pain, muscle weakening, heart muscle damage, loss of appetite, burns and tiredness.

In “scientific” modern medicine, the patient loses control of his body and of the treatment of his disease applied on him. His word is not considered useful to the diagnosis and to the course of his treatment, contrary to what used to happen in traditional crafty medicine. The word of the patient is negated. Just like in modern “scientific” war where the military does not know what it is doing in using “smart” engines. The patient enters a different world with all the high-tech machines measuring him or her, taking films, showing images a little like those on television screens during the Gulf War, showing where the “smart” bombs were falling.

The Negation of the Patient’s Words

Is the negation of the patient’s expression of words legitimate? On many occasions I was personally able to observe, through myself and others, that it was not and far from being legitimate, that “scientific” debate with a doctor had meaning, that through them some “heavy” unnecessary treatments that proved to be dangerous could be avoided. Allow me here some images of my treatment that illustrate the condition of a patient, his solitude in a universe totally organised and impersonal.

The chemo room with an aquarium full of fish, arm-chairs that could open into beds, nurses’ warmth, and even the ugly IV ivies²⁶ slowly dripping their “health” poisons, wounded and hurt humanity sitting around, looking at each other with compassion and commiseration.

The radiation room with its huge machines, pop music, one overly made-up woman technician, a male technician with the new look, new style, measuring, photographing, working with the high-tech computers, the feeling of being in an outer space vessel with a fear of nuclear weapons. In the afternoon, there was a replacement for my radiologist who was on vacation. We asked him lots of questions. I told him that my niece who works at the Hutchinson Cancer Research Institute has told me radiation can cause destruction of DNA and that later, other oncogenes can be provoked by what I am receiving now. He said it was not completely accurate. Radiation does produce a chemical reaction on cells and it can result, in very rare cases, with sarcoma types of cancer of the skin, very destructive, and usually fatal cancer! But it is very rare! He showed me on a drawing the kind of radiation I was going to receive, several rays, one of which will slightly touch my lung. He did not show me the last treatment given every day at the end of each session, electrodes in the middle of the chest, which penetrate 2.5 cm deep. When the doctors left the room, I turned towards my love Alban, I saw his eyes all red. I asked him what was wrong. He said: “I don’t like for people to touch my love.” It perturbed me to see him this way, especially because later he had to wait outside again while they kept

²⁶ An ivy is the drain with needle that goes into the vein connected to a pouch that drips the chemo.

me for one hour and a half in order to measure me again and to redo the markings on my chest wall where the rays would be directed.

My Body Was Like a High Technology War Field

Some time later, I am lying down, looking at the machines above me, my body like a war field being prepared for bombardment through rays, dismembered body, geography of my wounded body, rays of life and rays of death. When will they have discovered other cures to this terrible disease? Cruel civilisation which poisons me like it poisons the earth, bending it to death and destruction. Fractured earth, wounded earth.

The precision, high technology laid upon me did not reassure me. Is this technology really useful anyway? Without following him till the end, I am often remembering my reading of Ivan Illich (1975) noticing how the cost of medical technology had risen to over billions of dollars but that the health of people had not particularly improved from it. And I felt a prisoner of the whole system in spite of the kindness of the technicians and of people around me.

Violence, more than ever, dominates the world. Science and technology belong, to a large extent, to this violence. Their relation to war has often been underlined. Relation of cause and effect, but also ideological and symbolic relation manifested by weapons of war evoking the phallus.

For Adam Farrar (1985: 66) there is a kind of *jouissance* –pleasure in a sexual sense, no equivalent word in English – in war:

One of the main features of the phenomenology of war is the unique intensity of experience. War experience is exactly the converse of alienation. In war, the elimination of all the norms of intersubjectivity produces, not alienation, but the most intense *jouissance*. The machining of events on the plane of intensity (to use the Deleuzian image), the form of desire, is utterly transformed. Power no longer consists in the capacity to redeem the warrants of communicative intersubjectivity. It consists in the ability of the spear, the sword, the gun, napalm, the bomb etc. to manifest 'in a blast of sound and energy and light' (or in another time, in the blood of a severed limb or a disembowelled body), the merest 'wish flashing across your mind like a shadow'.

I do not believe that one can dismiss science and technology in the treatment of cancer from any complicity with pervading machismo.

The Presence of War Symbolism in Cancer

The presence of war symbolism in cancer made me hate the disease and its treatment all the more. My entire being, mind, body and spirit, are in revolt against this violence-laden aspects of cancer. I detest violence, and I sincerely yearn for the day when there will be gentler, more peaceful treatments for this disease.

War and the aggressive fight against cancer are not answers. They are ways used against situations created by negligence, by the incapacity to solve certain problems asked previously, by the refusal to place emphasis on the origin of the evil.

War and “battling” cancer represent a failure to deal with problems in the way to peace, to resolve disorder in a situation having reached a state out of control. Wars of mass destruction and the aggressive fight against cancer are the touchstones of this century, of a world that violence has reduced to tatters.

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THE DISCOURSE OF GLOBALIZATION

GLOBALIZATION AND THE WALLS

By Paul Vieille²⁷

Introduction

We are being told that Globalization implies a liberty to move everything and everybody everywhere on a global scale. It is a world market for goods, capital, ideas and persons: that is, the freedom to circulate. In reality everything circulates easily except people. Many want to move, but they are not allowed to do so. Those who try meet hindrances everywhere: walls, prohibitions against settling in another country, police controls, institutional obstacles, etc.

Is there anything that does not work the way it should when it comes to Globalization? Or are the problems inherent in the structure of Globalization itself?

***Mondialisation* and Globalization – a Preliminary Remark**

The obstacles which block the circulation of individuals seem even more strange and misplaced because the freedom to move is a fundamental right. In this connection, I should like to point out that we should at least distinguish between two things: the world making process and Globalization. Globalization is what we get our ears filled with daily: the full freedom of commerce, the dismantling of custom barriers, the end of subventions to producers etc.

By *mondialisation* (this French term has no equivalent in English²⁸) I have in mind another process, an anthropological, very old process. I am thinking of an essential ability of human beings to want to discover, to continue and to move on. The extension of this process to the whole of humanity seems to get lost in the shadows of time. And it is understandable that the right to move has emerged as a fundamental right of the individual, guaranteed by the Declarations of Human Rights. The ones who can't relocate, leave the place where they do not feel at ease and conversely

²⁷ **Editors' note:** This article was presented at the IMPLAN conference and given to us in French. We, the editors of this volume have translated it into English.

²⁸ The expression world making process is borrowed from Walter Mignolo, "The Zapatistas's Theoretical Revolution: Its Historic, Ethics and Political Consequences", Review, XXV, 3, 2002.

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remain where they feel at home; they are not free (look at the “*work and remain in the country*” slogan during the seventies in France).

This old anthropological orientation has taken on a new dimension during the last decades, which I would term the “mondialisation” of the conscience.²⁹ An extraordinary change has emerged, largely unnoticed, because it has arrived gradually, hardly visible: the widespread consciousness raising about the existence of the world as such and its unity. Modern media from radio to internet belong to the causes of this change. The consciousness raising has taken place in spite of the fact that those in power control the media strictly. Control and censorship could still not prevent the diffusion of messages which the media wanted to conceal, but which surpassed them. Paul Valéry (“Regards sur le monde actuel”) declared in 1945 : “The time of a finite world begins” (le temps du monde fini commence).

Thus, we are dealing with two processes concomitantly. We are both dealing with the phenomenon of Globalization which in fact is limited to the level of exchange of goods, money and services, and the process of consciousness raising, which implies that people do not acknowledge any borders. This last process rests in the old notion of a unity of humankind.

The economists tell us that the process of capitalist Globalization is linked to the difference between workers’ wages on the global level and the advantages which these differences represent. They tend to overlook the necessary complementary dimension to these differences; the bio-anthropological unity of human life without which capitalism could not expand. The capitalist Globalization could not have taken place without the unity of human life and consciousness raising.

Thus, you see that the impossibility of free circulation of people across borders at the present age is not of minor importance. It seems to contradict Globalization and denies a fundamental human right whose aim is the shaping of a new world for the benefit of all. Let us first try to understand the function of the movements of people within the framework of Globalization.

The Theory of Globalization

In the international economy everything ought – in theory to function, to adapt itself to the functions of the market in order to arrive at a state of balance, at a smooth world. I shall here present two main theories.

First theory: The theory of Stolper-Samuelson (Stolper, W.F. and P.A. Samuelson (1941). “Protection and Real Wages”. *Review of Economic Studies*, 9). When a rich country where capital is abundant exchanges with a poor country where workers are abundant, the salaries in the rich country tend to diminish and the profits to increase.

²⁹ **Editors’ note:** A good translation may be: consciousness raising about the world we live in

This is actually what is taking place in the old industrialised countries (Europe, United States, Japan) as a result of the opening of international commerce with the former socialist countries, which means more than two billions poor workers. In the old industrialised countries the salaries tend to diminish, the unemployment to grow and the profits for the capitalists to increase. At the moment only the workers' salaries are hurt; it will get even worse.

Second theory: This concerns the migrations in a globalised world. According to the neo-classical concept of pure and perfect competition the mobility of the working force should, just like the factors of goods and services, increase the efficiency of the production and the national product, profiting the immigrants as well as the "nationals".

The companies which do not produce products which give enough profit to insure the subsistence of the workers will disappear. In that way, the least fertile land especially and the cultures which can't produce a sufficient revenue, are being abandoned. As a consequence the workers move between sectors and branches of activity, between regions and countries, etc.

In reality the first theory may be considered as verified. What is happening is harmful to the majority of people. The second theory has definitely not been confirmed.

The Real Consequences of Globalization

- The adjustments of the activities and the costs of the working force between poor and rich countries create unbearable tensions. Not only because the number of low-paid workers who are suddenly thrown on the market, but also because a large part of them are not free workers but prisoners, almost like slaves. This concerns Chinese workers in particular, who lack the right to organise, benefit little from the economic growth of their country and who, by the way, are not allowed to leave the country.
- Millions of human beings are forced away from their land. The big proprietors and the great agricultural enterprises neglect the smallholders. These peasants without land do not find industrial employment because production has now doubled without increasing the work-force. They are left behind in misery. In China and India the number of peasant revolts has increased considerably during the last years. (Look at the interview with Arundhati Roy on the web). The same tendencies apply to Africa, which is still to a large extent dependent on Europe, where the poor ones strive to come.

All in all, poverty is spread in previously industrialised countries just as much as in other countries. It is estimated that a billion children in our world are surviving below the threshold of poverty.

Of course nobody wants the poor ones. "We can't receive all the world's misery", was the saying of a former French Prime Minister, Michel Rocard. This has become

a slogan: "The French don't want the world's misery; they have enough with their own." Neither do they want their own misery, by the way.

The Migration Policy of France and Europe

France is a good example. (Look in this connection at Yann Moulier Boutang: "Le véritable socle économique de l'inhospitalité : le salariat bridé", Multitudes Web.) France, "land of asylum", France, "the Patrimony of Human Rights", is since long a myth. The country has never welcomed economic migrants. From the end of the 19th century a restrictive legislation on immigration has been applied. The political refugees have always constituted a tiny minority of the migrant streams, with the exception of the large wave of Spanish refugees in 1938-39. Continental Europe (including since 1971 the United Kingdom) has no tradition of hospitality towards immigrants; none of the countries recognise a right for them to settle down upon their entry, with the exception of the political refugees.

The entry is dependent upon work (and the right to work is strictly limited by common law). The French migration system does not grant immigrants this right other than as a reserve work force, filling poorly paid vacant jobs, which are in positions close to slavery. It is on these conditions that waves of migrants were recruited between the First World War and 1975: Italians, Poles and Maghrebians. In 1973-75, it was decided to close the frontiers for immigration.

After that time we have experienced a progressive reduction of all the usual channels for migration.

The Walls

To stop unwanted ones from coming in, walls have been erected in concrete and in barbed wires (Ceuta and Mellila). But these concrete walls were not sufficient and were too visible. In addition, one has access to the buffer zones: Libya, where human rights do not exist, and its retention camps paid by the EU, or Morocco, where one simply dumps people in the desert.

The control at frontiers and other places is provided by interior controls everywhere: electronic surveillance and transportation of illegal immigrants back to the borders (according to statistics at least 20,000 in 2070).

As a consequence everyone's freedom is attacked. It is more and more difficult to find spaces without supervision, with total liberty. What seems to be liberty is not offered if one cannot at any time prove one's right to stay.

Yet another wall exists, the one composed of ethnic frontiers. It looks like a paradox that ethnic divisions are being propagated simultaneously with Globalization, as a means of preventing class struggle.

The only area where a radical protectionism still exists is the one concerning the movements of populations, in a world dominated by the neo-liberal ideology which proclaims the advantages of “Globalization”.

Globalization and the “National” Capitalisms

Why this protectionism? Who profits from it? The people do not have much to say, certainly not the poor people. Many people do not protest because their opinions have been constructed by the media. Those who benefit are the national capitalists who assemble the profits thanks to the wage differences, the immobility and servile status of the work force. The states are the instruments serving the national capitalists.

The national borders which Globalization pretends to pass over are in this way finding a function in the relations between rich countries which have lots of capital and poor countries which have lots of workers (First theory). The profits of the first ones are the outcomes of exchanges between two areas where the work forces enjoy unequal rights. One does not talk about these inequalities and the profits due to them.

The opposition from the industrialised countries is weak. The enterprises which profit from the situation object to all opposition by manifesting their disagreement with any initiative to change the status quo. The states keep silent.

Thus, when Sarkozy went to China, he made sure not to mention the fate billion captive workers. He went to the point of forgetting to bring with him the Minister of Human Rights, thus contributing to keep the Chinese workers in servility. He helped the Chinese capitalist state to carry out its reckless policy. The states share their responsibility through obstacles they put in place against the free movement of persons.

A Wall of Silence

A wall of silence covers the working conditions of poor workers in the countries which have now become the world’s workshop. This wall is one of the strongest walls preventing dynamic change for a new and better world.

GENDER, LANGUAGE, AND GLOBALIZATION

By Jill M. Bystydzienski

Introduction

While a great deal has been written about Globalization and language, especially the spread and domination of English throughout the world (e.g. see Grin 2001, Sonntag 2003, Brock-Utne 2000, 2005, 2006), relatively few scholars have examined the interrelationships between gender, language and Globalization. In this brief paper, I discuss how language and gender are implicated in Globalization and how processes of Globalization exacerbate gender inequalities symbolically in language and discourse.

What is Globalization?

Globalization may be defined as “complex economic, political, cultural, and geographical processes in which the mobility of capital, organisation, ideas, discourses, and people has taken on an increasingly global or transnational form” (Moghadam 2005: 35). Globalization also has been described as consisting of “flows” (Appadurai 1990)—of capital, goods, people, and communication. With increasing ease of movement of money, technology, information, and goods across national borders, Globalization is shifting production practices around the world. In political terms, Globalization has reduced the ability of state governments to manage their national economies. Globalization also refers to the spread of Western liberal democracy throughout the world as well as the creation of new transnational cultural forms. Additionally, and more importantly, for the discussion at hand, Globalization brings into contact people with widely different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, both through media of mass communication as well as via migration and tourism.

Language is implicated in significant ways in every aspect of Globalization: the demographic and social changes brought about by migration, the shift to an information and service economy, the contested position of the nation state, and new forms of social and political resistance to the forces of Globalization. All of these changes require and produce new ways of using and thinking about language.

Feminist Analysis as a Critical Lens for Examination of Gender, Language and Globalization

Feminist scholars of Globalization (Moghadam 2005, Peterson 2006) indicate that a great deal of mainstream scholarly work about Globalization ignores gender (the socially constructed differentiation between, and systems of, masculinity and femininity) as an analytical category and structural feature of social life. However, as feminist scholarship has begun to focus increasingly on women, gender and Globalization, mainly two dominant feminist perspectives on Globalization have emerged (Moghadam 2005).

The first, Marxist-feminist or the feminist political economy approach, relies on analysis of the movement and operation of capital in relation to the state, global economy and international financial institutions (like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund [IMF]) using the lens of gender and its intersection primarily with class, but increasingly with race and ethnicity as well. The state is central to this perspective not only conceptually but also politically, because it is seen as the mechanism that makes citizens' contributions possible at the national level and from which people can demand accountability.

The second, postmodern or postcolonial feminist, approach provides an analysis of symbolic, including linguistic, representation of economic, political and cultural Globalization, as well as a critique of gendered binaries in the construction of knowledge about Globalization. From this perspective, the state, the global economy, and global feminisms are de-emphasized, and power is theorised as diffused, having multiple sites and taking many forms rather than residing in the state. This approach emphasizes cultural representations, agency, identities, subjectivities, and difference.

In my analysis of gender and Globalization I blend the two approaches as do a number of other feminist scholars of Globalization (e.g., Ferree and Tripp 2006, Naples and Desai 2002, Peterson 2007). In this view, it is important to understand how institutional structures work hand-in-hand with representational practices and cultural, linguistic productions.

How Is Globalization Gendered?

As feminist researchers have demonstrated, Globalization is not a gender-neutral process (Moghadam 2005, Peterson and Runyan 1999, Marchand and Runyan 2000, Ås 1999). Gendered processes are processes that favour or are biased towards one of two sexes, usually in favour of men, or reflect what are recognised as traditionally masculine or feminine values and characteristics.

Gender can be understood as an analytical category, as a kind of "governing code" (Peterson 2007). Gender is deeply coded as a hierarchical opposition between

masculinity and femininity, with that which is characterised as masculine (i.e., understood as possessing agency, reason, power and control) privileged at the expense of that which is labelled as feminine (i.e., perceived as lacking agency, reason, power and control). Gender is pervasive in language and culture and effects how we take for granted (i.e., normalise and naturalise) the devaluation of feminised economic and political statuses.

Not only is that which is labelled “masculine” privileged over the “feminine”, but diverse hierarchies (racial, ethnic, class, sexual, national, age, etc.) are linked by attribution of the feminine to the subordinated in each hierarchy. Structural hierarchies that vary by race, ethnicity, nationality, class, sexuality, ability, and age, usually have in common their denigration of feminine qualities attributed to those who are in subordinated positions (e.g., attributing lack of control or reason to the poor, to gays and lesbians, to the disabled, etc.). Hence, representing the subordinated as feminine devalues not only women but also racially, culturally, economically or sexually subordinated men (Peterson 2007).

The devaluation of the feminine is simultaneously discursive (cultural and ideological) and material (structural and economic). Thus, cultural value is simultaneously constituted and implicated in economic value. For example, the so-called women’s work (taking care of households and children, working in occupations such as nursing or teaching, or working in the informal sector of the economy) even when performed by men, is typically underpaid, or not paid at all (e.g., housework). However, most people take this state of affairs for granted assuming it is “normal” and thus the cultural devaluing of activities deemed “feminine” legitimises subordination and exploitation of women’s work.

Globalization affects women and men differently and in different ways under varying circumstances. While in some cases and in some ways women may benefit from Globalization, more often they are affected more negatively than are men. Subordinated men are affected more negatively than men who are privileged. Thus, Globalization tends to reinforce the pre-existing gender and other inequalities including those of race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, age, and (dis)ability. Gender as ideology (language, discourse and culture), which undergirds structural inequalities, tends to be reinforced by Globalization. For instance, women and subordinated men are defined not only as different from, but also as inferior to (i.e., less valuable than) dominant group men; and therefore, more appropriate workers for low wage, low status, repetitious and tedious work in the global factories and support services.

Women are often restricted from employment that provides higher wages and supervision of others due to attribution that they are “naturally” not suited for supervisory positions. A persistent impediment for women is that their paid employment continues to be viewed as supplemental to men’s, even when they are

not attached to men or when they are heads of households raising children on their own. The ideology of men as breadwinners and women as caretakers makes women more dependent on state governments for social services and more threatened when governments cut social welfare spending under neo-liberal economic policies. And gender norms and stereotypes, encoded in language and culture, also account for the existence of the international sex trade. Sex work is sometimes the only available option for survival of poor women in particular. The low status of women, children, and poor men of colour is also related to their treatment as sexual commodities.

In the following sections I turn first to a discussion of the relationship between gender and language in women's paid labour in the global economy, in particular the so-called "feminised" occupational sectors. Secondly, I examine how the language of Globalization provides gendered scripts and narratives that reinforce gender inequalities.

Gendered Language Work and the Work of Gendered Language in the Global Economy

Those who have studied the role of language on the global scene make the distinction between "English" as the "hyper central" language of Globalization, "majority languages" or languages that are sanctioned by a nation state and are associated with full citizenship (e.g., Norwegian in Norway), and "minority languages" which are negatively associated with citizenship (e.g., Turkish in Norway) (De Swaan 2001). In a globalising world, the acquisition of other than one's native language, especially if one's language is a "minority language" and if the acquired language has utility in many parts of the world (e.g., Spanish or French due to their colonial heritage) may potentially be a form of symbolic capital to be transformed into economic and social capital in the multilingual marketplace (Bourdieu 1991). However, proficiency in English or in another dominant language is less readily converted into economic gains for women than it is for men (see, e.g., Grin 2001).

Language work has been increasingly commodified and gendered due to Globalization. The language workforce (language teachers, translators and interpreters and call centre staff) is heavily feminised. Styles of communication that are valued in these jobs are those traditionally considered "female speech styles", and thus women are the majority of those hired (Cameron 2005). Most language workers are employed in casual, part-time, poorly paid jobs with little job security and career prospects (Massey 2004) constituting an economically marginalised job sector. Hence, although the "new" economy provides increased opportunities for language work, this work—associated as it is with women and femininity—is devalued.

Another feminised job sector which is even more exploitative than language work is that of migrant domestic work. The growth of this sector is directly influenced

by neoliberal economic policies, especially structural adjustment measures imposed by the World Bank and IMF, which have widened the gap between rich and poor countries and led to massive migration flows from the economic South to the North. Most of these new migrants are women of colour who do reproductive work such as child care and elder care, domestic labour, as well as sex work. How does language enter this domain? Domestic work does not require the worker to speak the language of the host country, but limited proficiency acts as a way to further curtail the situation of such workers, increases the advantage of employers, and makes the workers more vulnerable to physical and emotional stress (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). These care workers provide important reproductive labour that well-to-do women in rich countries are no longer able to do or choose not to perform. They are some of the lowest paid labourers doing work that previously was unpaid and thus of little value on the economic market. Their lack of access to majority languages is clearly related to their gendered, classed, and racialised position in the global economy.

Women also make up the majority of workers employed in the global factories in the economic South especially in electronic, clothing and related industries. Why do transnational corporations prefer to hire women? The language used by owners and managers to describe what they perceive as women's suitability for this low paid, repetitious and tedious work, includes: possessing manual dexterity (nimble fingers) that allows them to assemble tiny components; being more accustomed to tasks that require patience and attention to detail, tasks associated with housework; and they can be paid less than men because they are only working for a supplementary family income (Moghadam 2005: 52-3). For such reasons, articulated by those in power but widely shared throughout the world, women are hired in manual, lowest-paid jobs, while men are given supervisory positions that usually pay more.

In sum, beliefs and norms deeply encoded in gendered language and culture support and reinforce a global economic structure of gender inequality.

Gendered Narratives and Language of Globalization

Closely related to and buttressing the gendered inequalities of labour in the global economic market are the narratives and metaphors of Globalization that reflect characteristics associated with hegemonic (or dominant forms of) masculinity. Globalization narratives and scripts emphasize gendered ideologies and identities and reinforce gendered institutional structures.

As multinational corporations based in the economic North establish subsidiaries in the South, Globalization is sometimes described as a process of penetration into virgin markets—a rape script and a masculinist project (Gibson-Graham 1996). In this script, the subordinate and poor, feminized South is being subdued by the dominant and rich, masculinised North.

Some feminist analyses have emphasised that the implicit gender politics of neo-liberalism include hypermasculinity (Ling 2002) or a “transnational business masculinity” (Connell 1998). The “Davos Man”, for instance, is a reference used by major world newspapers to globalised businessmen and politicians who have attended world economic forums in the 1980s and 1990s in the Swiss town of Davos (Moghadam 2005: 28).

In Globalization discourse, institutions can sometimes be “feminised” as in the case of the nation-state when it is perceived by multinationals as preventing the progress of marketising the national economy and has to be subordinated and its influence curtailed. And some state ministries and departments are referred to as “soft” or feminine (health, education and social welfare) while others are given “hard” or masculine authority (finance and foreign affairs) as they are seen to be directly related to the global political economy (Marchand and Runyan 2000: 14).

In liberal democratic politics worldwide, the notion of the rational and strong “man” still dominates public discussions and imaginary as the ideal politician, despite the presence of more women in many national and local legislatures (Peterson and Runyan 1999).

In all of these examples, masculinity is privileged over femininity and masculinist language dominates Globalization discourse.

Conclusion

In this short paper, I have tried to demonstrate how gender, language and Globalization are interrelated and implicated in the process of privileging masculinity and reinforcing gender hierarchies. Such analysis is important as a basis for counteracting the negative consequences of Globalization and promoting positive, social justice oriented development and change.

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CAN GLOBALIZATION IN NIGERIA'S NIGER DELTA BE HUMANISED FOR INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT?

By Macleans A. Geo-JaJa

Introduction

This article seeks to understand the most pressing challenge for Africa at this time, Globalization and its related trends. It shows how Globalization limits the capacity of governments to fulfil local demands (employment, education, environment, and livelihoods sustainability), due to decline in social budgeting. The variation of Globalization' impacts creates different growth rates across countries and decides how the distribution benefits some countries and regions, while others are losing. This is detailed in the paragraphs that follow.

Who Benefits from Globalization?

Forces of Globalization are transforming the essential structures of nations in terms of their capacities and autonomy. In today's world, a nation is both indispensable and inadequate for policy formulation, particularly for the implementation of comprehensive human-based development strategy. If a nation is seen as economically weak, it is easily exposed to interference. This means that some nations no longer have control of the management of their economy. Neither do they have sovereignty over policy formulation or decision-making authority. International financial institutions, tightly enmeshed in international networks and economic restructuring worldwide, have carried through wide competitive production and economic policy measures. The integration into the global economy makes policy mixes, processes and development implementation a nightmare for developing countries.

Imposing change from the outside cannot work according to the plans and promises of the neo-liberalists, as has been seen in nations of Africa and Latin America. In 1999, Africa's population represented 50 per cent of the poorest global decile, whereas in 1970 its share was 16 per cent. Also, 39 per cent of Africans were found in the lowest global decile in 1999, compared with 17 per cent in 1990. Research on education and development shows that illiteracy and education poverty is higher in Africa than in any other region of the world. It is at the same time the only continent on the globe where children are taught through a language they do not understand (Brock-Utne 2000). This has tended to contend the development process as it entails a series of constraining measures: a populations political awareness, social development, and

cultural growth and to raise standards of living by increasing material welfare and improving education.

The contending viewpoints on the impact of Globalization on society are twofold:

- Neo-liberals believe that Globalization has brought rapid prosperity to developing countries; and
- Humanists argue that Globalization serves the needs of the so-called developed countries at the expense of transformation of societies in developing countries.

Both Globalization and anti-Globalization campaigners insist that their route is the road that leads to convergence in living standards, consensus building and wholistic social change. The presumption is that all nations fall into line to achieve international development goals for a more inclusive and equitable world. But the economic prosperity of developed countries has been *at the expense* of developing countries, particularly African ones. Even at the turn of the 21st century self-adjusting markets called for by neoliberalism and age-old mercantilism policies still persist. Such unjust Globalization processes have widened the gap between rich and poor nations through rising inequality, mounting debt burdens and trade agreements that disproportionately benefit rich countries. For instance, the factory model of schooling (Western educational system) found in most developing countries today that are rooted in mechanistic and linear worldview opposes traditional values. This antithesis of the endemic social structure of the indigenous people further facilitates dependence on rich nations.

Drawing from the experience of Nigeria and that of the Niger Delta region, I will try to explicate how Globalization has accelerated underdevelopment and disclosed the harmful roles played by the World Bank and the IMF in this process. This is necessary as those who subscribe to neo-liberalism continue to state that Globalization reduces poverty and income inequities. Measurement of success must go beyond economic focus and include transformation of social life, which captures the multidimensionality of poverty.. If it does not stress the importance of inclusive policies that build on citizen's rights and support the provision of national public goods and social investment, how can it contribute to poverty reduction, national enablement, and human development? Globalization and its effects need to be understood both globally and in their specific context (Held et al 1999) Giddens 1990). If the answer is not Globalization and trade liberalisation, is there any alternative route to prosperity for the Niger Delta?

Economic Consequences in the Niger Delta

Although Nigeria has experienced some economic growth and development, regional inequality and poverty persist, particularly in the Niger Delta. The process of economic growth has been extraordinarily exclusionary and uneven. Productivity

and creation of economic value is increasingly concentrated in certain sectors. The informal sector, for example, which under the current political and economic arrangements, is an appendage of the mainstream economy, and it does not benefit from the dynamics of the new global economy.

The Niger Delta region contributes more than 60 per cent of the nation's GDP, 95 per cent of total exports, and more than 85 per cent of government revenue. Nevertheless, the region is still locked in a state of low-level asset trap, dependency and enormous quality of life disparity. Nigeria's average economic growth of 7 per cent has not translated into quality growth, as poverty in the Delta region tends to be higher than the national average, which is assumed to be among the worst in the world (UNDP 2006). Evidence shows that other countries like South Korea, Vietnam and China managed to make significant in-road in poverty reduction and human development. Under the trade openness and market-driven system, Nigeria has only been able to translate its high gains from oil export to widening regional differences in poverty, education, misery and quality of life. The big difference is that the "Asian Tigers" practised *strong state* intervention in social budgeting in the social sector (Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2003). In 1999, the Nigerian government spent 5.8 per cent of total budget on education and 1.9 per cent on health, while Bangladesh, a non-oil producing country, spent 15 per cent and 5.5 per cent respectively.

The result of this non-pro-poor policy is reflected in the UNDP Niger Delta Human Development 2006 report. Seven million out of twelve million people in the Delta sustain life on less than \$1 a day, 88 per cent of households are illiterate, 70 per cent lack access to health care, and more than 85 per cent lack access to safe drinking water (UNDP 2006). Official data show that by 2000 the mortality rates for infants and those under 5 years were 81 and 151 per 1000 live births, respectively, while maternal mortality rate was 614 per 100,000 live births – all significantly above the average for the developing countries and even for Sub Sahara Africa. These are adverse effects of public spending cutbacks, that were not accompanied by increased income transfers and subsidies to social services or to safety nets for the very poor. These are outcomes of neoliberalism Globalization process.

The Culture of Globalization in Niger Delta

In the Nigerian context some regions are less deeply implicated in the new market openness than others. In some regions, the poor and locals are totally excluded, (although not unaffected by the global market-place). This unevenness characterises a process that tends to reinforce or increase asymmetrical structures of traditional relations or decision-making authorities.

For instance, in the context of culture and language the supremacy of traditional language and culture are dethroned by "global language", which did not triumph on account of its inherent superiority. Rather this was the case of local cultures not

being considered of high value in the world economy. Up till date Nigeria is still using the language of her colonial master (Britain).³⁰ The same can be said of her educational system which has been dependent on the educational system of the rich nations, both in terms of expertise and resources. These have contributed to social, cultural and economic backwardness. What is needed is a policy that re-enters the local cultures into the educational system and national development frameworks. To achieve such necessary action, education must be locally contextualised and delivered in languages of the people, so that culture becomes an integral part of sustainable development (Geo-Jaja and Ojo 2005, Brock-Utne 2000, 2001, 2003).

In an article on using the mother tongue as the language of instruction in Africa, Professor Ayo Bamgbose (2005) from the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Ibadan draws some lessons from the Yoruba Experience. In his chapter Bamgbose describes the Six-Year Primary Project (SYPP) which started in 1970 and was based at the Institute of Education at the University of Ife in South Western Nigeria (now Obafemi Awolowo University). It started in a rural school with two experimental classes and one control class. The main aim of the project was to use Yoruba as a medium of instruction throughout the six years of primary education in order to find out whether primary education given in the child's mother tongue medium would be likely to be more meaningful and of greater utility to the students who matriculated through the schooling system. Bamgbose notes that since, in general, in African countries, primary education has been terminal for most children, it is important that such education should have what has been referred to as a good "surrender value". Other subsidiary aims were an enrichment of the curriculum, development of materials in Yoruba, and a more effective teaching of English as a subject through the use of specialist teachers of English.

The SYPP curriculum consisted of English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and Yoruba. English and Yoruba were taught as subjects from the beginning of primary education, while other subjects were taught through the medium of Yoruba in the experimental classes. The main differences between the experimental and the control classes were in the medium of instruction in the past three years of primary school as well as in the use of a specialist teacher of English as a subject for the experimental class. The advantage of the latter arrangement is that only the specialist teacher of English would provide a model of communicating in English for the class, since all other teachers would teach their subjects in Yoruba. With exposure to a good model of English, it was expected that there would be considerable improvement in the pupils' mastery of the English language. The results showed consistently that the experimental group performed highest on tests of all subjects including English! The difference in medium of instruction was shown to be significant (Fafunwa, Macauley & Sokoya, 1989, Bamgbose, 1984). An integral component

³⁰ See a thorough discussion of this point in Kwesi Kwaa Prah's introductory chapter to Part 3 of this book.

of Globalization to create a borderless world through the so-called superiority of English language increases the degree of social disintegration that most developing countries are currently undergoing, thus negating the advantage of first language as espoused by the above cited authors.

Globalization is a tricky term, which connotes free flow of ideas, and goods around the world, but restricts free movement of people.³¹ For most, economic Globalization is a set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic and cultural space via trade liberalisation and commodification of culture. Globalization transcends socioeconomic and political barriers that countries used to build around themselves. Creation of a global education standard is the potent enabler of creating a borderless world. Globalization has tended to force nations with different academic needs and resources to conform to structures designed to service the interest of the rich nations' academic systems and international institutions, thus breeding inequality and dependence (Altbach 2002). The functionality of education as a mean of reducing poverty and promote sustainable human development has been supported by two World Bank reports: *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform* (World Bank, 2005) and *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development* (World Bank, 2006). Their advice clearly becomes questionable under this scenario.

Indeed, this seemingly contradictory strategy of what might best be called “*conservative modernism*” is an idea conceived by the World Bank and IMF and imposed on Nigeria in the 1980s. As in other countries in Latin America and Africa who adopted such programmes, they resulted in underdevelopment (Geo-JaJa and Magnum 2001; UNICEF 1992: 18-19). The life expectancy at birth of the people of Nigeria in 1998 was 50.1 years. Indeed, research further revealed that 33.3 per cent of the Nigerian population in 1998 was not expected to survive to age 40. It has also been argued that such policies are not limited to drastic limitations of the social sector expenditures. They also threaten the foundation of human rights and the sovereignty of nations (Freire 1998, Takala 1996: 331, Hoogvelt 1997: 179).

Concluding Thoughts

In the midst of abundant data that show deteriorating developments, the World Bank and the IMF are still imposing neoliberal policies and demanding the repayment of their loans, while the Nigerian government is requesting debt relief. This unravels the puzzle of a nation with a valued export resource, oil, and which is still struggling with poverty and underdevelopment. How do we explain this? The question to advocates of Globalization concerning Nigeria is why trade openness is followed by worse quality of life and increased poverty. Driven by the interests of key political and economic institutions in developed countries and the internal imperative of capitalist expansionism, there is little doubt that Globalization instead

³¹ See a further elaboration of this point in Paul Vielle's article in this volume.

of promoting quality growth has institutionalised multidimensional poverty and economic stagnation, as is the Nigeria experience.

The Globalization process, I conclude, falls short of addressing the problems of poverty, national enablement, and underdevelopment in Africa. The policy mix for Globalization and international openness does not distinguish between market-opening policies which encourage development transformation and those that are hindering it. The outcomes, which make a caricature of current development paths, beg for strategies that are more culturally sensitive than the competitive equilibrium models of market fundamentalism – all variants of the education and development agenda of colonialism. The alternative is a strong state model with its emphasis on individual rights and human capabilities and a commitment to human development. Globalization confronts countries with extreme external and internal threats, but also with motives and opportunities for policy action.

This is a call for rich countries to open up their markets to exports from the developing countries and to slash their large agricultural subsidies that undercut African countries' comparative advantage, which the rich countries preach when it serves best their national and economic security.

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THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON KNOWLEDGE AND SECURITY

By Judit Balázs

Speak up if you know how to get over. The most difficult of all things is to speak.³²

Introduction

Present Globalization on the premises of corporate capitalism literally means an all-over-tendency – no region is likely to escape its major trends. One of its aspects is the unjust circles of distribution, against which an indirect counteraction is appearing in the form of regionalism. If this neo-liberal process is allowed to continue, an unwelcome current of polarisation, pauperisation and criminality is sure to engulf the main regions of the countries worldwide. No social community may be left untouched.

Globalization's worldwide conquest took a start around the beginning of the 20th century. The first symptom was its impact on the world economy, not least in the form of deep recessions. Since that time Globalization has got a wider scope, and nowadays it applies to all walks of life. It affects almost all fields of social existence, and their asymmetric interdependence is getting all the more intensive.

An overall result of the process:

1. The forceful idea of competition makes the gap between the less developed and the economically developed nations grow wider and wider.
2. The latter have become differentiated through their efforts to gain economic independence and dominance over as many other countries as possible, backed up by military preponderance. The most successful of them all are frequently referred to as “the members of the centre of the world economy”. As West European countries have failed to keep most of their leading positions, the “centre” has moved from the North Atlantic region (Europe and North America) to the Pacific region (North America and East Asia).
3. The counteraction to such a worldwide dominance supported by state terror has i.e. taken shape in the form of resistance through suicidal attacks of terror, the poor side's weapon. The result of this kind of Globalization is global insecurity.

Let us look at some problems inherent in these trends.

³² Ptahhotep's exhortations. Pharaoh of Ancient Egypt around 2160 BC.

The Role of Competition

Adam Smith's famous theory presupposed that:

1. Free competition was an essential ingredient of any efficient economy; and
2. Every one of the self-interest-motivated individuals was guided by an "invisible hand", and so contributed to the good of the whole. And indeed, history provides examples that the absence of innovative competition and international (or at least: regional) co-operation might result in economic atrophy.³³

This *laissez faire* prescription is disastrous to the world economy. Nations' equal chances to fair competition have been distorted by historical, geographical, geopolitical and other circumstances. The situation is turning from bad to worse because of a widely accepted belief that we can achieve better positions by getting the edge over our competitors – even at the cost of disregarding humanitarian and environmental issues. In their essay entitled "The Limits of Competition" members of the so - called "Lisbon Group"³⁴ point out that – unless the aggressive competition is restricted by public regulation – the world economy will soon come under the rules of a social-Darwinism that knows neither humanism nor environment protection.

Obviously, there cannot be much "good of the whole" if competition disqualifies everyone except the winner. According to the Human Development Report,³⁵ that is just what happens between the post-industrial economies and the developing countries on the global markets. Therefore, Globalization is not a process to unify free nations; it is a process which forces nations into a single hierarchical system. After the end of the "two polar world," most local wars have broken out because of competition for scarce resources or because the losers in the world wide economic competition rejected a humble rank in that untold hierarchy.

The Gap between the Rich and the Rest

The Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter (1939) became known for analysing production circulation. As early as in 1939 he described capitalism as "the most

³³ Some of the tribes in today's Angola used to have an autarkic economy before colonisation. Any surplus was considered to be „straight from the devil” and confiscated by tribal chiefs. No enhancement of production – consequently no competition – was allowed. - In the 16th to the 17th century Ottoman Empire competition was hindered by severe control over trade-guilds. Some Western scholars point out that rivalry among trade-guilds might have fostered the birth of manufactures, and manufactures could have led to the birth of mass production. But that was out of the question: The scanty manufactories of the day lived on state orders. Consequently, they withered as the military strength of the empire vanished.

³⁴ Lisbon Group: Limits to competition.1996.Quoted by Simai Mihaly: Fejlődélmélet és realitások (Theory of Development and Reality) In: Gömbös Ervin (eds.) . ENSZ AKADÉMIA kiadványa. 2005. Published by the UNO Academy in Hungary.

³⁵ Annual Report of UNDP 2005.

resourceful system of innovation, production and distribution”, which is, at the same time, “capable of ruining itself by sacrificing stability and moral and family life for economic reasons”. He named it “a construction-born destruction” Schumpeter has been proven right. The contrast between the positions of the few rich on the one hand and the positions of the billions of poor on the other is so sharp, that it is destabilising human community as well as world economy.³⁶ In the beginning of the 21st century some 7.2 million people are said each “to be worth” more than 1 million dollars – they are the people who control one - third (some 88 billion dollars) of the world’s total capital. At the same time, half the population on Earth lives on less than 2 dollars a day.³⁷ The imbalance between the rich countries of the North (their one billion inhabitants earn 60 per cent of the total incomes) and the poor ones on the South (of whom 3.5 billion earn only 20 per cent).³⁸

Analysing the "world-property" some researchers find that the total number of millionaires changed significantly from 1986 to the beginning of the 21st century. They put the increase of millionaires in Asia to 600 per cent; in Europe to 410 per cent; in North America to 300 per cent; in the Near East to 210 per cent; in Latin America to 220 per cent and in Africa to 190 per cent. Of every one hundred millionaires, 33 live in North America, 27 in Europe, 18 in Asia, 12 in Latin America, 5 in the Near East and 2 in Africa.

The gap – kept growing by the results of neo-liberal economics – has had far reaching consequences. Researchers associated with the World Bank and the UN have named inequality as the most significant underlying cause of violent crimes (i.e. homicide and robbery). Should inequality increase, the crime rate will continue to grow. In countries where neo-liberalism influenced decision-makers, institutions, social maintenance and services suffered serious financial cutbacks. And so did education. Besides the gap between the economically developed and the less developed countries, there is a gap between the rich and the poor of every given nation. The poor suffer from lack of health care, and their descendants will also suffer the same fate because they lack access to resources and higher education.

³⁶ Gömöri, Endre (1998): Botorkálás az értelem birodalma felé. In: Népszabadság, 24 December, 1998. (Gömöri, Endre: Groping after the Realm of Sense). In: Népszabadság, 24 December, 1998.

³⁷ "Two dollars a day": is considered a minimum sum for any man on Earth to live. Half of it (or even less) is considered to be "abject poverty." It is estimated, that more than 1.2 billion people live —on that level.

³⁸ We, Peoples. United Nations in the 21st Century, Report of the Secretary General, New York. 2000.p. 19.

The Question of Security

The use of the word "security" has changed over the past 15 years, not least after Bush launched his "War on Terror" 11 September 2003. Pockets of resistance and counter-terrorism have looked like a network not so much as a result of centrally organised plans but rather because of world wide "on the spot" press reports. If such events are still predictable to some degree, it is because of their "in response" character.

Another new feature of weakening security is that the "traditional" (or: "gangster-like" or "violent") forms of danger are combined with new ones. The latter are generally named as "non-military" perils — the term refers to such unwelcome events as deliberately caused catastrophies and mass exoduses (and their "side effects" like entailed epidemics), etc.

Yet another feature is that new achievements in information technology, biogenetics, miniaturisation, accuracy of fire weapons, intelligence and the like have also contributed to security weakening. These – the so – called "revolutionary achievements in military techniques" – have side effects on "non-military fields". There is a paradox there. Via new communication techniques a great majority of mankind can be convinced to say "No!" to slogans calling for war. But those very modern communication techniques are also available for non-state terrorists, thus making societies more vulnerable.

Yet another feature of weakening security is that the above – mentioned phenomena – with their technological, economical, ecological and social consequences – not to speak of natural catastrophies – hit societies unexpectedly. In addition to sincere, efficient and strongly increased measures for disarmament, human development and peaceful cooperation, even early warning systems are needed.

What Is Terrorism?

In 1938 Chamberlain said: "What is terrorism? It is the devil among peoples of far away lands whom we do not know."³⁹ Later, in the second half of the 20th century, terrorism meant something that belonged to the Bask and/or Irish and/or Sandinista extremists. Then such activities crept closer to continental Europe in the form of attacks by the Red Brigades and the assassination of Aldo Moro.

Hardly anyone noticed that new scientific discoveries undermined stability all over the world (Balázs , 2008). The information-boom and IT provided new means to the OK states as well as to groups of terrorists. For example, in the first decade of the new millennium, Al-Khaida suffered heavy losses in terms of number of guerillas

39 Chamberlain declared this in a radio broadcast on 27 September 1938: I have this quotation from the homepage of Peter Deak, a Hungarian scientists. <http://www.deakpeter.hu>.

and different kinds of weaponry. Nevertheless, their members managed to harmonise their activity by “keeping in touch” via the internet. They also use the net to spray their ideology and to recruit volunteers. For such activity, the limit is the sky. Via Internet it is no more science fiction to remotely control the lock-gates of high dams and nation-wide networks of electricity or railways and telecommunications.

Neither state violence nor the virtual fronts of terrorism nor the global business policy of multinational companies can be counteracted by regular warfare. After all, armies – even the ones equipped with the most modern arms – can not confront chips and e-mails. The cyber - sphere cannot be occupied by tanks.

The number and intensity of conflicts remain as high as ever, but the fronts are more and more formed on the field of high technology and global economy, not on infantry battlefields,- although the wars in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq illustrate the continued reliance of Western powers sharp weapons when that seems fit. Fortunately, when world powers are waging war for world dominance, they prefer in general other means, though the USA has not abstained from providing itself with a global military preponderance, largely financed with loans. The basic fronts are today between the multinational companies as well as between the economically developed countries on the one side and the rest of the nations on the other. The latter – with their economies mostly restricted to agriculture – have small chance of evading poverty.

Computers as Weapons

Globalization also gives rise to other predicaments. One of them – the so - called ‘computer-illiteracy’ – reflects a new type of social handicap. Computers of our age provide abundant information that can direct us on where to invest capital and how to reduce costs. From such opportunities – be they local or even cross-continental – hundreds of millions of individuals are already excluded. This game of “invest-and-grow” is mostly available for the multinationals, which can employ educated people with good computer skills.

However, computerisation is not without drawbacks. Not even the well - equipped companies and institutions can evade viruses. Those that copy confidential information are considered most devastating. The ones that “simply” destroy saved data are perhaps not so evil, nevertheless dangerous. Less harmful are the ones that belong to the category of “spam”. These serve as means of guerilla-marketing by making their ways to PC screens to convince readers to buy a special product. They advertise a wide choice of “goods”, such as stimulators and sex-gadgets, investment-guidance and charity requests. Some of these “guerrillas” may even make profits by convincing Internet-mongers to visit a certain homepage.

For the time being, no trustable forecasts indicate when the fashion of spam may come to an end. In 2004, Bill Gates aired his view that the spam-phenomenon would disappear in two years time. Contrary to that, in terms of received spam, the year 2006 brought the highest number ever in the US. Nine of every ten e-mails were spam.

Yet another drawback of computerisation – closely associated with spam – is the so - called “botnetting”. The word “botnet” refers to clusters of computers that, by working in pools, are capable of intruding any PC without any prior permission from the PC owner. After a “botnet” virus has made its way to the memory of a computer (or “zomby”), the PC acts as a pathway for spam: it transfers messages and collects data. That, serving as technical background, enables one botnet to send as many as one billion e-mails in 3-4 hours. Anyone may rent a botnet for 500 - 600 dollars/week and can send millions of spam if provided with a list of addresses.

Spam is illegal and punishable in almost all countries. However, as yet, the profit/fine ratio makes such kind of “business” attractive.

We must notice that the scale of interventions against such misuse of modern technology is less and less left for the states to decide. What counts as “illegal” in some parts of the world is probably “legal” in some other part. Information and abundance of capital provide “virtual-economy-investors” the means to gain extra profits from the differences. The state can only prevent such an outflow of capital by rendering more and more parts of the “illegal”- “legal”. So there is an ever - growing “financial bubble” behind the “money driven economy”.⁴⁰ It may explode one day - like a ticking time - bomb in the luggage of an unaware traveller.

Language Protection

In addition to all these there is an ethical/moral question: The obligation of language protection. Besides applying the rules of the language, grammatical correctness means nursing its idiomatic variety by everyday use. Languages are not only extremely adequate tools of communication but they reflect the nation’s view of the world. They also reflect the very value system we act by. In short, language is a factor that determines the identity of groups and individuals of one nation. Therefore, languages are essential components of the living heritage of mankind. Yet, over 50 per cent of some 6700 languages spoken today are in danger of disappearing. The experts estimate that, once the national languages are pushed into the background, “language imperialism” paves the way to more mass manipulation. It is alarming that over 3000 languages are in danger of disappearing:

- 96 per cent of the world's languages are spoken by 4 per cent of the world's population;

⁴⁰ Almási Miklós: K. mint katasztrófa. In: *Mozgó Világ* 1996/1 7. old. (Almási Miklós: The ‘C’ stands for Catastrophe. In *Moving World*. 1996/1 p. 7

- On average one language disappears every two weeks; and
- 80 per cent of the African languages have no orthography.

With their complex implications – for identity, communication, social integration, education and development –, languages are of strategic importance for people and the planet. Yet, due to the processes inherent in Globalization, they are increasingly under threat, or disappear altogether. The fade of languages entail the decline of the world's cultural diversity: traditions, national memory, unique modes of thinking and expression.

Knowledge has become one of the magic words of our time. Nevertheless it is Janus-faced, because the advantages of new technical achievements and surgery skills are counterbalanced with destabilisation growing world-wide. The basis of that mournful phenomenon is the widening gap between the rich and the poor. In other words, knowledge remains Janus-faced as long as it devalues honest work and human efforts.

A century ago H. G. Wells⁴¹ said that human civilisation was engaged in a race between education and its own destruction. When we consider the wars and barbarism of the 20th century, his forebodings seem uncannily accurate. Let us hope that *Homo sapiens* can get through the 21st century with less self-inflicted damage (Kennedy).⁴²

Mahatma Gandhi was right as he wrote a poem named Seven Social Sins in today's world:⁴³

- Wealth without work;
- Consumption without conscience;
- Knowledge without character;
- Business without morals;
- Science without humanity;
- Religion without sacrifice; and
- Politics without principles.

⁴¹ Chamberlain, Neville (1898) *The war of the worlds*. London .

⁴² Kennedy, Paul (2002): *Global Challenges at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*. In: Kennedy Paul, Dirk Messner, Franz Nuscheler (eds). *Global Trends C Global Governance*. Pluto Pressp. London-Sterling - Virginia and Development and Peace Foundation p.21.

⁴³ Qoted in: Küng, Hans (2003) *An Ethical Framework for the Global Market Economy*, in Dunning, John H. (ed). *Making Globalization Good*, Oxford University Press, p.158.

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DEVELOPMENT SPEAK

THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

By Steven J. Klees

Introduction

Discussions of education and development use a proprietary language that has evolved over decades. Crush (1995: 3) notes that:

The discourse of development, the forms in which it makes its arguments and establishes its authority, the manner in which it constructs the world, are usually seen as self-evident and unworthy of attention.

However, this position is usually held by those who are partisans of the dominant discourse. Critics like Samoff (2008: 3), point out:

Words matter. The language we use structures how we think about things.... Over many years the development business has spawned a standardized authoritative terminology. Within that terminology are embedded particular conceptions, orientations, prejudices, and policy preferences.

Kincheloe (2007: 23) elaborates more generally:

Critical theorists have come to understand that language is not a mirror of society. It is an unstable social practice whose meaning shifts, depending upon the context in which it is used. Contrary to previous understandings, criticalists appreciate the fact that language is not a neutral and objective conduit for description of the “real world.” Rather, from a critical perspective, linguistic descriptions are not simply about the world but serve to construct it. With these linguistic notions in mind, criticalists begin to study the way language in the form of discourses serve as a form of regulation and domination.

In this chapter, I use a critical perspective to examine some of the language of education and development and the discourses in which that language is embedded. In the next section, I look at overall development discourses, followed by sections that consider some of the specific language and discourses of development. This specific language deals with empowerment and participation, partnership, conditionalities, dialogue, and ownership, Sector Wide Approaches (SWAs), the Comprehensive

DEVELOPMENT SPEAK

THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

By Steven J. Klees

Introduction

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Development Framework (CDF), and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) as well as knowledge management, economic efficiency, and development. This is followed by a short conclusion.

Development Discourses

Perspectives on development (the term will be problematised later) have changed over time. The subject is complex and hotly contested. Still, I think it useful to think about three distinct relatively long-term discourses about development (for elaboration, see Chan 2007, Chabbott 2003, Mundy, 1998).

The *liberal discourse* predominated worldwide in the 1960s and the 1970s and can trace its modern history in the US to the 1930s and the New Deal. Liberals believe development resulted from a judicious mix of capitalist markets and state intervention. Markets, left to themselves, would be inefficient and inequitable.

With the advent of Reagan and Thatcher and consequent changes in the World Bank and elsewhere, liberal dominance was changed almost overnight around the world. The ascendancy of *neoliberal discourse* and policy has now lasted over a quarter of a century (Klees, 2008(a)). Neoliberals argue the efficiency and equity of relatively unfettered markets and the inefficiencies and inequities resulting from government interventions. Neoliberals have given us the Washington Consensus and policies designed to curtail the state, privatise, deregulate, and liberalise. From a critical perspective, neoliberal policies have wreaked havoc with billions of lives, increasing poverty and inequality, prejudice and discrimination, environmental destruction, and conflict. From a critical perspective, neoliberal discourse is ideology masquerading as science.

The *critical discourse* has a long lineage and has operated side-by-side with liberal and neoliberal ones. Criticalists, to borrow Kincheloe's (2007) term, have been longstanding critics of both liberal and neoliberal policies and discourses. Criticalists believe that the market is problematic and needs to be tightly regulated, perhaps even replaced (Hahnel 2005, Brock-Utne 2000). A reformed state is generally seen as necessary to facilitating a much more equal, just, and participative society. Critical discourse sees the world as composed of systems and structures that maintain, reproduce, and legitimate the existing inequalities. From this perspective, inequalities are not system failures but the logical consequence of successful system functioning. While recognising that such reproduction is pervasive, criticalists also agree that there are serious challenges to reproduction from two interrelated sources. One is that the systems and structures that dominate are not monolithic but are pervaded by contradictions, such as that between the stated value of political democracy and the reality of economic authoritarianism, or that between the stated value of human equality and the reality of systematic discrimination. The other challenge comes

from a belief in human agency, implying that oppression can be recognised and fought individually and collectively.

This chapter focuses on the neoliberal discourse that has dominated the discussion of education and development for the past quarter of a century. Some of this neoliberal discourse has been generated by coopting the language in liberal and critical discourses. This cooptation is an ongoing process. For example, Cornwall and Brock (2005: 8) discuss how, in the 1990s, the “World Bank reshaped its existing narratives to make them more palatable to an increasingly critical international community...” (see Storey (2000) for an analysis of why the Bank adopted a neoliberal discourse). This neoliberal discourse is not straightforward to talk about. The discourse is vast, complex, and evolving, and the language developed is extensive and interconnected. In this short paper, I will simply focus on some of the language used and try to understand the discourse in which it is embedded (for more extensive treatment of some of these issues, see Crush 1995, Moore and Schmitz 1995, Sachs, 1992). I will use the World Bank as a principal example since it is the primary global institution responsible for both education and development policy.

Empowerment and Participation

Empowerment and *participation* both came out of the critical discourse of the 1960s and the 1970s. “Empowerment, in this era, was envisaged as a radical project of social transformation, focused on building countervailing power to enable otherwise excluded social groups to mobilize collectively to define and claim their rights” (Cornwall and Brock 2005: 6). Participation was related in that it referred to the widespread and extensive participation of empowered individuals and groups in transformative democratic and development activities.

Liberal discourse co-opted these two terms early on, stripping from them their transformative meaning. While within critical discourse, both were ends in themselves, within liberal discourse, they became instrumental. Empowerment became capacity enhancement resulting from education and training. Participation became a means to harness local knowledge to make development projects more effective.

These terms continue to be used to support education and development policies and programmes under neoliberal discourse. However, while under liberal discourse, empowerment and participation often referred to mobilising individuals to involve themselves in activities of the state, under neoliberal discourse both terms generally refer to involvement in the market. As Cornwall and Brock (2005:18) argue “participation [is] ... involving users as consumers” and “poor people [are] being empowered through the marketisation of services that once were their basic right”. When going beyond individuals to talk, for example, of *community participation*,

the meaning often becomes that of another ubiquitous term, *cost-sharing*, that is, shifting the burden of financing to poor people.

Partnerships

I am not able to think of a term that has so rapidly been diffused in development circles as *partnership*. There have always been joint undertakings, of course, but nowadays most projects have multiple partners, and almost no agency undertakes a project completely alone. A principal rationale for expanding partnerships has been the clear failure of even very successful-looking education and other social sector projects to be expanded to a scale where they can have a significant impact. In theory, partners working together can make this happen, through pooling resources and better coordination and management (Brinkerhoff 2002, King 1999).

One of the most appealing elements of the rhetoric on partnering has been the idea of multilateral and bilateral aid agencies collabourating with NGOs and other civil society organisations, with the rationale of involving grassroots participation and local knowledge. However, this rhetoric about partnering with NGOs began in the 1980s as a direct result of the ideological shift to neoliberal policies that emphasized a diminished role for the public sector. Working with NGOs instead of governments became a part of the de-legitimisation of government. In Tanzania, for example, the World Bank created a National Education Trust Fund as an NGO to by-pass the government (Brock-Utne 2000). While many NGOs still have very progressive agendas and staff, this major shift of the Bank and other aid agencies to financing programmes through NGOs resulted in the creation of more right-wing NGOs, more cutthroat competition among all NGOs, and a more dominant role being played by international NGOs (Klees 2007/2008, Subramanian 2008, Mundy 1998).

The Bank (1999: 17) devotes a whole chapter of its Education Sector Strategy report to “Partnering: A World of Opportunities”. They say: “The job of strengthening education is too big for any single institution...” The Bank proposes partnering with governments, parents and communities, NGOs and foundations, the private sector, teachers and teachers’ organisations, and international, regional, and bilateral organisations. This is partnering with a vengeance: no one is left out. At least, almost no one – the Bank’s willingness to partner with teacher unions appears to be very limited. The word “union” is only used once in the entire report and that in a context where teacher unions want “to maintain the status quo” and “can grind change to a halt” (p. 3). In the chapter on partnerships, there is a section on teacher “organisations” which admits they must be given an opportunity to participate not only in implementing reform, but also in developing new programmes. As in all cases of consultation with the civil society, however, the information provided, the views expressed and the interests represented by the various participants must be weighed in the balance –

with the ultimate decision being a political one. The interests of teachers, as workers, have to be considered in relation to the preeminent interests of students and their parents, as consumers. [p. 19]

Hardly any other potential partner is singled out for such a caution, and “consultation” is not partnership. While civil society features prominently in Bank rhetoric these days, note that the report implies the same caution and consultative role for it as teacher organisations.

Perhaps the most notable education partnership of the past two decades, “Education for All” (EFA) has demonstrated some of the key problems with partnership fervour. With almost the whole world as partners, EFA has, at best, had very modest results, and some have called it an “abject failure” (Bennell 1999: 1). Halfway through the 1990s, the Bank was a leading player in the surprisingly uncontested shifting of most EFA goals from the year 2000 to 2015, and today no one expects the 2015 goals to be met. In a world of partnerships, no one is to blame (except, perhaps, the country). Failure is unfortunate, and we move on to planning (more of the same) for the next decade.

The fervour with partnerships has also stifled critique, debate, and alternatives. Prior to EFA, Bank policies were constantly and openly challenged by major aid agencies – for example, it was UNICEF that gave us *Structural Adjustment with a Human Face* in the 1980s (Cornia et al. 1987). Since the formation of the global EFA partnership, this has visibly changed. Formerly vocal critics of the Bank and its policies, like the Canadian and Scandinavian aid agencies, UNICEF, and UNDP, may still offer criticisms, but much more softly and privately. Some of these agencies still get together, calling themselves “the like-minded group”, but they say little publicly. Birgit Brock-Utne (2007) talks of the “Worldbankification” of Norway’s education and development assistance policies. Partnership has also muted the critical voices of some NGOs and other civil society organisations, especially since partnership often comes with funding from the Bank.

Conditionalities, Dialogue and Ownership

Throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, most development aid was given in the form of project support; that is, a country and a donor agreed on a particular project to fund. The neoliberal era saw changes that reflected the continued failure of education and development policies to lead to any major social change and the desire by funders to have greater control over those policies. Under such names as programme support, sector support, or budget support, aid was directed away from specific projects and towards larger entities, such as primary education or the education sector overall. Aid always had conditions attached to loans, but with these new aid modalities, these conditions became broader, more invasive, and more numerous.

To soften the harshness of increasingly onerous loan *conditionality*, new language and concepts were invented. *Policy dialogue* was created to argue that the nature and conditions of loans were jointly created through discussions between the recipient and the donor. Like partnership, policy dialogue implies relatively equal standing between the two, the exact opposite of the reality of extremely unequal power.

As if policy dialogue were not going far enough, the more recent term of *country ownership* was propagated. Country ownership implies that the policy dialogue is actually directed by the aid recipient and that all choices about the nature and conditions of aid reflect country sovereignty. From this perspective, countries that are recipients of aid are the dominant partner in all endeavours. In a world of vastly unequal wealth and power, where recipient nations are desperate for aid, the language and discourse surrounding policy dialogue and country ownership forms an ideological bulwark that is far from the reality on the ground. Moreover, through the changes below, funders ever further consolidated their power.

SWAps, CDFs, and PRSPs

One of the most problematic new forms of partnership fervour are the *sector-wide approaches* (SWAps) to education and other sector planning, an even more centralised reincarnation of previous calls for donor coordination and policy dialogue. SWAps got their start at the Bank as SIPs (Sector Investment Programmes). A genuine SWAp is supposed to have six features:

- be sector-wide;
- based on a clear and coherent policy framework;
- local stakeholders are supposed to be fully in charge;
- all main donors must agree to it;
- implementation must be developed jointly; and
- it should depend on local capacity, not technical assistance (Jones 2000).

In theory, the SWAp seems to be simple logic—all donors are supposed to work together in a country with the government and other local stakeholders to come up with a joint educational or other sectoral plan and cooperate to achieve more relevant and effective policies, more efficient management, and larger - scale outreach through the pooling of resources.

In practice, applications of SWAps do not remotely meet the six conditions above (Jones 2000, King 1999). The Bank has admitted to "overoptimism", that SWAps must "be seen realistically as a long-term ideal" (Jones 2000: 276). The real consequence of SWAps is that forcing consensus on a sector programme makes donor power stronger and more monolithic. Aid recipients become even less able

to find space to follow their own agendas, which they did previously, for example, by taking advantage of the different agendas of donors, sometimes even playing one donor off against another. Moreover, the donor community is a world of very unequal power. Coordination easily becomes control.

The most recent language speaks of *donor harmonisation* of interests and *basket funding* (i.e., pooling aid resources). But Brock-Utne (2007: 437) raises the key questions: “Who shall do the coordination ...? To what extent does this coordination mean that all aid will now be given following one ideology, one set of principles?” The Bank actually stated its own answers to those questions. In discussing its comparative advantages as an aid agency, it points out that, “The Bank can use its position as the largest external source of funds in most developing countries to encourage other partners to contribute to priority activities” (World Bank 1999: 21). That is, its priority activities.

Based on the SWAp idea, the rhetorical touchstone of current Bank development policy has been its *Comprehensive Development Framework* (CDF). The CDF was Wolfensohn’s brainchild, initially proposed by him in 1995, soon after becoming Bank president and is still seen as fundamental to Bank policy even though he is gone (World Bank 2008b). CDF is supposed to be “a holistic approach to development”, based on developing a cross-sector long-term vision and plan. It needs to be “owned” by the country but based on consultation and partnership with all stakeholders. A key feature of the CDF is that “... social concerns [are] treated equally... with macroeconomic and financial concerns.” It is “designed to be a means of achieving greater effectiveness in reducing poverty” (World Bank 2000: 21). It is also designed to move countries towards a broad range of other outcomes, such as: clean governance, participatory democracy, universal primary education and strong secondary and tertiary systems, a health system focused on family planning and childcare, expanded social services and safety nets, and environmental protection (World Bank 2000: 21).

Although the CDF idea has been around the Bank for over a decade, it still has little more content than the paragraph above. No wonder! The CDF idea is SWAp writ even larger. This would be a SWAP that includes all sectors, all the international agencies, all governmental ministries and all the endless other partners to map out a long-term development vision and operational plan! This in a world where for decades we have been trying unsuccessfully to do “simple” things like getting the education and health sectors to work together, within a country or even within the Bank. Most frightening is that with the Bank leading this CDF effort, contrary to the stated intent, country ownership becomes more problematic. The Bank’s “comparative advantage” (i.e. power) vis-à-vis its many partners, including the country itself, gives it unprecedented power over fashioning a global long-term development vision and plan.

While CDF is more illusory than real, its rhetoric is incarnated in the new and very real *Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS)* process (World Bank 2005b, 2001b). The PRS has grown out of a number of complex social and institutional changes. Partly it was the recognised failure of the development paradigm. Neoliberal development policy, i.e. the Washington Consensus, has been declared a failure even by many neoliberals (although many would say it has been a resounding success for big business – at least until the recent global crisis). Also, the economic crisis in the late 1990s in Southeast Asia caused very serious damage to the IMF's image as the global development architect, and the Bank tried to rush in to fill that gap. In the accompanying melee of institutional in-fighting and larger political processes, the PRS process was born as a “new” approach to development policy.

At the 1999 meetings of the World Bank Group, it was agreed that, henceforth, before the Bank or the Fund (as the IMF is known) begin any work in a country, they must--jointly--begin with a PRS paper (PRSP), which lays out a plan “to foster growth and reduce poverty” that will serve as a basis for future work (World Bank 2001b). PRSPs, like SWAs and CDFs, are supposed to be country owned, with the Bank and the Fund playing an advisory role, and they are supposed to be developed with the widespread participation of all stakeholders, from other donors to grassroots organisations. The Bank's (2001b) view of the PRSP framework is that it

should ensure that the needs of the poor come first. [This will] require a true transformation of society, driven by the countries themselves...[and which] must enjoy broad support from the true experts on poverty: the poor themselves. Armed with poverty reduction strategies, countries become masters of their own development with a clearly articulated vision for their future Countries are in charge, but they are not alone in the fight against poverty [T]he World Bank and IMF stand ready to provide support to governments in the development of their strategies without in any way predetermining the outcome or undermining country ownership.

I find it hard to believe that anyone can believe this rhetoric, including Bank staff. Gwekwerere (2008) points out that the Bank and the Fund have 1200 pages of technical guidelines for a country to follow in producing a PRSP, which in itself shows country ownership to be a lie.

In practice, of course, PRSPs are nothing like this. While there was initial hope among many NGOs and other civil society organisations that this would be a fundamental change in the orientation and operation of the Bank and the Fund, there is now considerable disappointment. Evaluations of PRSPs have been extremely critical. Real civil society participation in PRS processes was seen as non-existent, and consultation was described as rushed, superficial, and half-hearted. Not surprisingly, the results of PRSPs looked little different than the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the previous decade with the same limited attention to

social sector protection and the same stringent loan conditions (McGee et al. 2002, Wilks and Lefrancois 2002, Action Aid 2001, Oxfam 2001).

Knowledge Management

A key part of education and development strategies of the Bank has been what they call *Knowledge Management*. In education, the Bank developed the Education Knowledge Management System (EKMS) which “creates, captures, distils, and disseminates relevant development knowledge on education. Its main goals are to document the corporate memory and to include the best development knowledge” (World Bank 1999: 42). The EKMS and the rest of The Bank’s knowledge management system were creations spearheaded by Wolfensohn: “The World Bank Group embarked on a new vision in 1996 – to become a Knowledge Bank that spurs the knowledge revolution in developing countries and acts as a global catalyst for creating, sharing and applying the cutting-edge knowledge necessary for poverty reduction and economic development” (World Bank 2001a : 1). While some of the trappings of this have changed with changes in Bank leadership, the “Knowledge for Development” rhetoric remains strong (World Bank 2008a).

The problems with this metaphor and practice are numerous (King, 2001; Samoff and Stromquist 2001, Stromquist and Samoff 2000). The idea of knowledge management was borrowed directly from the US corporate sector, as have previous fads like strategic planning, quality assurance, and performance budgeting. The Bank has tried to back off from the Orwellian spectre of knowledge management, sometimes reframing the idea as “knowledge sharing.” But the “creates, captures, and distils” image connotes much more the idea of control than sharing. The Bank wants to be a clearing-house for “best practice knowledge” from everywhere -- its own and that of all its partners (World Bank 1999: 42).

Even at its best, with *knowledge nuggets* (a term used by the Bank) from all its partners, the idea of a central repository of “best practice” is frightening. Since we are all partners, all in this together, the idea has been that it does not matter by whom or for whom this knowledge is generated. We can pool our knowledge and let the best ideas win out in the “free marketplace of ideas”. This is never true in the real world where knowledge is contested and power governs the outcome of that contestation. And, in this case, it is the Bank that supposedly “captures, distills, and disseminates” the best ideas (World Bank 1999: 42). Forget that the Bank is notoriously self-referential, always focusing predominantly on its own research. Simply the proposition is amazing. This could never be done in the North. Imagine if an institution in the U.S. said it was or wanted to be the central clearinghouse for distilling all ideas about educational or economic best practice. They would be laughed at. Given the diversity of views, for example, in think tanks and universities, no one would even consider having some such central knowledge manager or broker:

There is no “Knowledge Bank”, only an “Opinion Bank”, and, worse still, an opinion bank with monopoly power. (It should be embarrassing to the Bank and the Fund to be so strongly anti-government when they themselves are dreaded public monopolies.) This Monopoly Opinion Bank (I cannot help myself – henceforth, the MOB) may not be the only source of knowledge in education or development in developing countries, but they are the predominant producer and arbiter of what counts as knowledge. If there were applicable anti-trust legislation, the MOB’s research enterprise would be broken up. The MOB’s defense is that they try to incorporate all knowledge from all their partners, including countries, other aid agencies, NGOs, other civil society organisations, indigenous people, the poor of the world, etc. This is neither possible, nor sensible, nor true in a world where knowledge is contested within and among all these groups. The MOB distills and disseminates the knowledge it wants to promulgate.

Economic Efficiency

The language of economics has had a prominent role in liberal and neoliberal education and development discourse. This, in part, has been a result of the Bank’s influence. In part, it has contributed to that influence. It has been prominently argued that education is an investment in *human capital*, that some education and development investments are more *efficient* than others, and that *rates of return* are a good way to measure what is most efficient. All of this language, like above, masks the problematic concepts.

The Bank likes to argue that the framework has been “thoroughly debated” and accepted, vetted by “Nobel Laureate[s]” (World Bank 1999: 6), but human capital theory was contested from its beginning (Shaeffer 1968) and continues to be (Samoff 2007, DeYoung 1989). If the human capital question were only whether education has a payoff to some individuals over time, the answer is clearly yes from any perspective. But the questions go much deeper. What kind of payoffs and to whom? To what extent is the payoff to the individual vs. to others in the society? Does a focus on human capital overemphasise the education – jobs connection to the detriment of education for other purposes – personal, intrinsic, citizenship? Has a human capital framework led to the current obsession with testing? To what extent has human capital-based education policy contributed to the reproduction and legitimization of poverty and inequality? Has a human capital framework precluded a more critical approach to pedagogy and an effort to promote solidarity instead of competition and divisiveness? These fundamental questions get short shrift within the predominant human capital framework, and, from a critical perspective, the answers to these questions suggest that the narrow, technical human capital language and discourse has contributed more to development problems than to development solutions.

On the surface, it is difficult to object to calls for more efficient education and development programmes and policies. However, upon closer examination, the idea of *efficiency* is rooted in quite problematic assumptions about an efficient economic system. The idea of efficiency rests on neoclassical economics theory about a market economy, underpinning both liberal and neoliberal perspectives. Neoclassical economics has fundamental inconsistencies that render it problematic at best, absurd at worst.

Chief among these inconsistencies is that in order for a market system to be efficient, you need a number of assumptions to hold (mainly profit and utility maximisation, perfect market competition and perfect knowledge). Yet these assumptions can never hold completely in practice. That might be OK if coming close to these assumptions was good enough to get you close to efficiency. However, that is not the case. Economics "Second Best Theory", asks: "If we don't live in the first-best world of the assumptions of perfect competition, but have, let's say, one imperfection in an otherwise perfect world (e.g. one monopoly), what are the results?" (Rakowski 1980). It turns out that the Second Best Theory says the results of one imperfection ripples through the market system, so the outcome is not efficient nor close to efficient. (Actually there is no such thing as "close to" efficiency. The system as a whole is either efficient or it is not, one cannot say how inefficient it is (Rakowski 1980)). This means that Adam Smith's dictum that the invisible hand acts in the social interest is totally false in a real – world economy rife with multiple deviations from free market theory. (This sentiment attributed to Adam Smith actually misrepresents his work and the degree to which he was very critical of free markets (Schlefer 1998)). From this perspective, the concept of efficiency, which is thoroughly embedded in the concept of perfect competition, is empty in the real world, and therefore, calls for improving educational or economic efficiency are devoid of meaning.

It is not meaningless to call specifically for fewer dropouts or improved learning. (In developing countries this can hardly be achieved if children are taught in a language they do not understand (Brock-Utne 2000, see also Part 3 of this book).) That is, however, quite different from a statement that primary education is a more efficient investment than higher education.

The great feat of neoclassical economics has been to convince people that there is a vantage point separable from distributional concerns, where one could look to see if the system as a whole is better off, defined as efficiency, where the decisions to produce an array of goods and services could be made in the interests of all irrespective of how little one had. However, if prices are not defined according to the exact dictates of free market theory, then private profitability or social rate of return analysis tell us nothing about the comparative social advantage of producing, say, more yachts instead of rice and beans, or more primary education instead of higher education. Without the justification provided by neoclassical economic theory, all markets become just a convenience but have no legitimacy as acting in the social interest (Klees 1993, 2008b).

Given the great inequalities it yields, I believe that someday our market system of wage labour will be considered as illegitimate as slavery is now considered. The fact that the market pays someone \$1.50 for a day of backbreaking labour, while others get millions of dollars for their white collar labour, is akin to a form of slavery, for which no one takes responsibility and which is disguised by the rhetoric of freedom.

While the market is a convenience that future, saner, societies may continue to use for some purposes, it has two fundamental flaws that render its widespread use problematic (both feature in the current global crisis):

- First, it contributes to an abrogation of social responsibility, as today, when market outcomes of horrendous inequality or environmental destruction are seen as natural, not anyone's fault; and
- Second, markets are fragile. For example, millions of small decisions can contribute to economic or environmental crises. See Hahnel (2005) for a discussion of alternatives.

Even if some meaning of efficiency could be resuscitated, its ubiquitous measurement by *rates of return* (RORs) to education or other investments is problematic in its own terms. There are three fundamental problems with ROR to education measurements. All the three problems centre on the fact that what RORs usually measure is education's impact on individual earnings. First, at best, earnings are only a very partial measure of the benefits of education. Economists have spent considerable time talking about the myriad other benefits to educated individuals and the externality benefits to others (Wolfe 1995, Haveman and Wolfe 1984). However, most of those benefits are difficult or impossible to measure, especially in money terms, leaving the policy significance of RORs just based on earnings in doubt. Second, the impact of education on earnings only has meaning for efficiency if someone's earnings reflect their productivity, thus making it a measure of return to society not just to the individual. However, economists and others have spent much time and effort examining the many reasons that earnings are not a good measure of productivity – screening, labour market segmentation, imperfect information, discrimination, lack of perfect competition assumptions, and many others (Barrios and Davis 1980). Third, there are serious problems with being able even to uncover the impact of education on earnings. There are a myriad of factors other than education that affect why earnings vary and our abilities to separate out the causal impact of education with the so-called alpha coefficients or regression analysis is abysmally poor (Klees 2008(b), 1986).

Development

A paper on the language of education and development would not be complete without problematising the central term in the development discourse – *development*. Doing justice to this topic requires a book-length treatment so all I can do here is raise a few of the issues. Overall, Moore (1995: 5) makes the point:

It may well be that the simple insertion of the word ‘development’ into the lexicon of legitimacy for global capitalism is the single most important facet of its hegemonic project ...

While some treat development as a relatively new metaphor, dating it from a 1949 speech by Truman (Esteva 1992), others elaborate its long history, tracing it back to the 18th century and through colonial times (Cowen and Shenton 1995, Porter 1995, Watts, 1995). The term development in liberal and neoliberal discourses is used to connote progress and modernity. Most recently, development is intricately tied to the idea of *Globalization*. Globalization is presented by the neoliberal discourse as a technical issue – like the other “ations” – modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation – when, as with all these terms, it is a profoundly political issue.

The modern conception of development has been contested since its beginnings (Arndt 1987, Goulet 1971). Esteva (1992: 9) reflects many critics when he says:

The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western geneology of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life.

In response to this hegemony, critics have created alternative development discourses under the labels of: dependency theory; anti-development, another development, world shaping development (see Paul Vielle’s article in this volume); Globalization from below (see Robert Arnove’s article in this book), delinking, sustainable development, human development, people-centred development, participatory development, postmodern development, postcolonial development, and simply post-development (Esteva 1992, Watts 1995).

Of these terms, the language of *sustainability* and *participation* has already been firmly captured by neoliberal discourse. It is likely that more of this critical, alternative language and discourse will be captured in the future. Nonetheless, captured or not, alternative language and discourse challenges the hegemony of development.

Conclusion

I conclude by looking at some of the conclusions of the literature on the development discourse. Cornwall and Brock (2005: 18) ask:

What has language got to do with development? Our argument in this paper has been that the terms we use are never neutral. They come to be given meaning as they are put to use in policies. And these policies, in turn, influence how those who work in development come to think about what they are doing. The way words come to be combined allows certain meanings to flourish and others become barely possible to think with.

Schmitz (1995: 55-6) further argues:

...the professional manipulation of seemingly benign words and concepts belies the deepening contradiction of a modern development paradigm which remains essentially driven by techno-scientific and economic variables and which rests on a prevailing global power structure that is grossly *inequitable* and *undemocratic*.

Cornwall and Brock (2005: iii) also point out “how words that once spoke of politics and power have come to be reconfigured in the service of today’s one-size-fits-all development recipes, spun into an apoliticised form that everyone can agree with”.

As mentioned in the previous section, this supposedly apolitical development discourse has always been contested. In a book entitled *Debating Development Discourse*, Moore (1995) opened with the words, “The discourse of development practitioners and scholars is very much in crisis” Whether there truly was a crisis then, I cannot say and it is difficult to judge the extent to which neo-liberalism is in crisis even now. The global economic crises of the fall of 2008 demonstrated, however, the structural and dangerous consequences of leaving world economy to neoliberal ideology. Liberal and critical discourses continually pose a challenge to neoliberal discourse. Of course, the former are continually co-opted to legitimate neoliberal discourse, yet simply that fact creates contradictions and spaces where hegemony can be and is challenged.

The issues are complex. Foucault (1979a : 101-2) cautions us:

There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power and opposite us, another discourse that runs counter to it. Discourses are tactical elements...; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy.

Still, the contestation over discourses like the development discourse is a very important terrain in the fight for progressive change, as Foucault (1979b: 110) also reminds us:

“[discourse]...is the thing for which and by which there is struggle; discourse is the power which is to be seized”.

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WHO NAMES THE WORLD WITH WHAT CONSEQUENCES?

By Robert F. Arnove

Introduction

In examining policy initiatives that are purported to contribute to improvements in educational equity, quality, and efficiency — the three major challenges facing education systems around the world — it is necessary to take into account who is initiating the changes, based on what assumptions and value orientations (i.e., what ideologies) with what ends in mind, and with what outcomes. For the purposes of this book, it is especially critical to analyse the language and discourses that frame economic and educational reforms around the world.

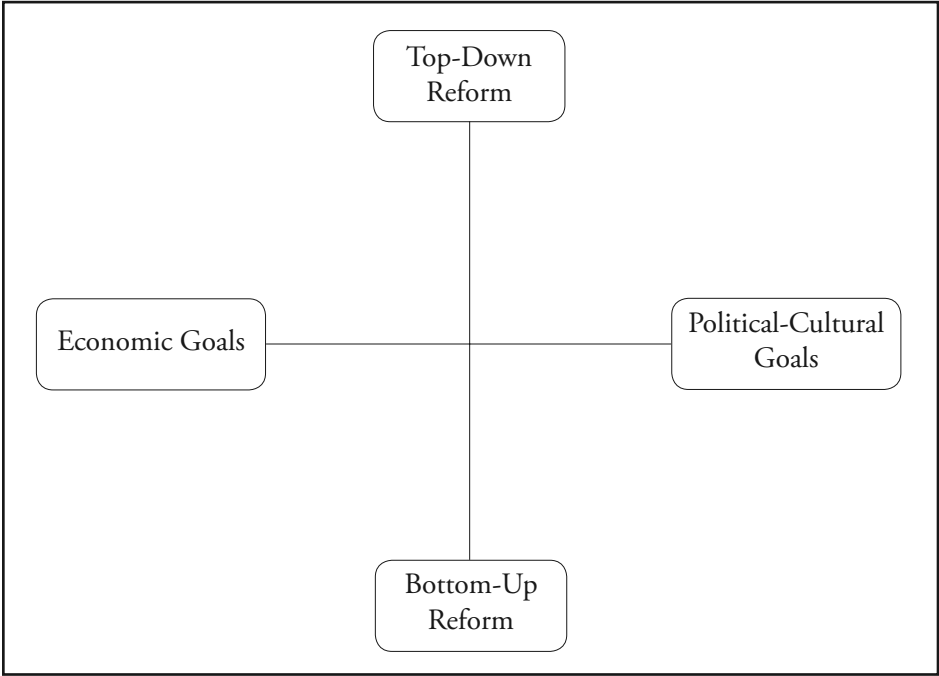
Rolland Paulston and Gregory LeRoy (1982) have provided a useful conceptual framework for analysing who initiates policy changes with what intended goals. It consists of two principal axes – a vertical one concerning where reform is initiated (whether at the top in international and national bureaucracies or at the bottom in grassroots movements); and a horizontal axis concerning the goals of educational change efforts – varying between principal economic instrumental goals or socio-cultural and political change (often associated with identity movements). Their review of the literature on non-formal education (the focus of their study) indicated that most programmes fell in the upper left quadrant and were designed to meet the so-called “manpower” or “human resource” requirements and the needs of dominant groups. Still, there were also a number of grassroots movements that looked to education to bring about fundamental social change.

Top-Down Impositions

Turning to the broader ambit of national systems of schooling around the world and attempts to initiate policies and practices that contribute to major improvements in the management, financing, content, processes, and outcomes of education, it is apparent that the most common pattern has been one dominated by what has been termed the neoliberal economic and education agendas of the major international financial agencies (points elaborated on by Steve Klees in his introduction to this part of the book).

Government policies based on these notions have led to a drastic reduction in the state's role in social spending, deregulation of the economy and liberalisation of trade policies. The educational counterparts of these policies have included moves to

decentralise and privatise public education systems. The economic and educational “restructuring” that has occurred as an integral part of this agenda has led to a substantial diminution of the role of the state in the public financing of education, but not necessarily its control. It also has led to the application of a market logic and a business rhetoric to the goals of education and the evaluation of the processes and outcomes of schooling, rather than to social utility or what has been called a logic of the majority (Arnove 1994).



Chief among the concerns of national decision-makers is the international competitiveness of their economies and the “products” (the graduates) of their education systems (as measured by standardised tests) — the upper left quadrant of the Figure 1. The previous dominant themes of education for the formation of participatory citizens and national unity, as well as an international solidarity and individual fulfillment, are barely mentioned or given secondary consideration in policy “reforms” that have tended to focus on the excellence or quality of an education system rather than its provision of equitable access, participation, and attainment (Arnove 2005).

Emphasis has been placed on the efficiency of systems, not measured in relation to how effectively limited resources are optimised but in relation to cutting costs by reducing inputs. Characteristics of the neoliberal agenda as it operates in the field of education include the crass commercialisation of schools with business sponsorships, the search for niche markets, and the establishment of competitive reward systems for individual teachers and schools based on monies garnered. At

the postsecondary level, there is a marketplace of competition for students, not only nationally but internationally with online courses and virtual universities (Brock-Utne 2002, 2003a).

Human Capital Theory and Corporate Language

Human capital theory and corporate language -- such as “mergers, hostile takeovers, commodification of distinction” -- prevail in discourse about the mission and priorities of higher education. John Lombardi, then the President of the University of Florida quipped sarcastically but realistically, “Let’s pretend we’re a corporation.” He went on to describe, in an interview with *Business Week* (Hammond and Jackson, 1997), a system in which departments meeting quality and productivity criteria would win shares of \$2 million in discretionary funding.

Higher education students are viewed as “consumers” who are enrolled in schools named after corporate sponsors, let’s say McDonalds, taught by the Taco-Bell named professor (no joke, this actually was mentioned in the March 2008 meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society at Teachers College Columbia University). As one of my colleagues quipped; if the largest donor to a university is “anonymous”, will the institution be named “Anonymous University”?

The Bullshit Bingo Game

There is a game that more critically-minded academics play when they go to meetings (from the local to the international) when they hear such buzz words as those mentioned by Steve—“donor harmonization,” “knowledge management,” and “country ownership” as well as “strategic plans,” “outcomes-based management,” “accountability,” “quality control”, “metrics,” “poverty reduction strategy papers” and so on. It’s called “Bullshit Bingo.” As soon as the words on the Bingo sheet are filled up, members of the audience stand-up and yell “Bingo!”-- often to the surprise of the speaker.

Policy bilingualism

Another type of language game is played by ministries in countries dependent on foreign aid. Iveta Silova and Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2008: 17), in *How NGOs React: Globalization and Education Reform in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Mongolia*, document how ministries in the thirty-one countries of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia became “policy-bilingual” — they “learned to speak the language of

the donors to secure a loan or a grant for reforms. But once the funding was secured the money was channelled into other ‘modernisation’ projects”.

More direct and militant forms of resistance to the neoliberal agenda have led to impoverished parents occupying ministries to protest privatisation of education, especially the charging of user fees that effectively deny their children access to schooling. Teachers, similarly, have gone on strike and taken job - related actions to protest these initiatives that also erode the effective bargaining power of their unions. University faculty have contested their universities from gaining proprietary rights over their research and the commercialisation of their courses; and students have joined forces across national boundaries to stop their universities from purchasing goods produced in “sweat shops”.⁴⁴ These actions are part of a transnational movement of “Globalization from below”.

Grassroots Movements — Reform from Below

Against these top-down tendencies in educational policy, there are grassroots movements all over the world that aim to raise a critical consciousness and equip individuals and their collectivities with the perspectives, skills, and knowledge to effect change that meets their basic needs and most profound desires for a better life. These social movements are often based on the need to confront global and national economic forces that are destroying their natural environments and livelihoods. They open opportunities for women, indigenous communities, and other historically discriminated-against populations to affirm their identities, make a decent living, and participate in the shaping of national policies that contribute to the democratisation and development of their societies.

Around the world, adult and popular education programmes inspired by the emancipatory pedagogy of Paulo Freire’s writings have provided previously muted individuals with the critical insights and means to name the world and change the world. Not surprisingly, the discourse of these movements is infused with words related to affirming community, habitat, biodiversity, cultural traditions, and language rights.

A key question here is this: In whose language is the world being named? Central to the answer is the language of public education. The life’s work of Birgit Brock-Utne is a magisterial contribution to our knowledge of the harmful effects of children not being able to learn first in local and regional languages. Language rights, as she rightly claims are fundamental human rights. The use of national languages at all levels of education is a cause she has championed not only in Africa but also in Norway, (Brock-Utne 2003b, 2007a b and c). Language policies based on her research and

⁴⁴ An example of student action is this e-mail message I received on 28 April 2008 from Students United Against Sweatshops (2008): “Students at SUNY Albany have demanded that the university cut all ties with Coca-Cola until they address their role in the murder of union leaders in Colombia”.

advocacy with fellow colleagues, far from closing the door to learning international languages, provide the linguistic scaffolding and skills to master them.

Counter-Hegemonic Blocs

When I saw Birgit in New York City at the CIES meeting in March 2008, she asked me to briefly mention the counter-hegemonic movements and discourse coming out of Latin America, where I have worked these past 40 years. The social movements discussed above are all very strong in Latin America.

What is a new phenomenon is a counter-hegemonic bloc of countries led by Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, and most recently Paraguay and, to a lesser extent, Brazil to develop a new vision of development based on “socialism for the 21st century” (to use the terminology of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez). It is a vision based on the need to assert national sovereignty and use the rich natural resources of the region to achieve more equitable societies. The discourse of this bloc in formation, called “ALBA” (*Alternativa Bolivariana para las Américas*, the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas”) is characterised by words such as “solidarity”, “cooperation”, and “dignity”. Instruments used to achieve these goals include establishing alternative development banks, media systems, trading and security blocs. As Arreaza (2004) notes, “ALBA is an alternative to the U.S.-sponsored Free Trade Area of the Americas. . . . differing from the latter in that it advocates a socially-oriented trade block [sic] rather than one strictly based on the logic of deregulated profit maximization.”

The Middle Ground

Although such state initiatives have the potential to arrest the forward momentum of the neoliberal agenda and provide benefits to formerly dispossessed members of their societies, I also see serious emerging problems. For example, does the progressive regime rhetoric related to overcoming oppression, asserting national sovereignty, and empowering the people match the unfolding reality? My most significant concern is the extent to which state initiatives attempt to coopt and control the social movements that are the fundamental agencies of social change. If these states only recognise or tolerate political associations, labour unions, and grassroots advocacy movements the ruling party organises, then we are unlikely to achieve the types of participatory, democratic societies that the political leaders claim is their goal. Moreover, if critics of the revolutionary process are demonized and labelled – often as “traitors” – dialogue, reconciliation, and inclusion are unlikely and the society is likely to be polarised into warring camps.

The achievement of more equitable societies will depend on the strength of these movements within and across societies to combat autocratic states, multinational

corporate giants and imperial powers. Here is where language plays such an important role. As the title of my paper poses — “Who Names the World with What Consequences?”

Summing-Up

In policy analysis, a leading question is who pays and who benefits from efforts to change or reinforce the status quo. Based on an assessment of the top-down economic and education initiatives of international financial and technical organisations as well as governments that have bought into the neoliberal agenda, I argue that these so-called “reforms” have led to the impoverishment of hundreds of millions, while they have enriched dominant elites. Instead of being considered “reforms”, they may rightfully be called “deforms”.

The lifework of Birgit Brock-Utne and the distinguished educators, linguists and social scientists from around the world who are her friends, many of whom are gathered in this volume, have torn the mask from these deleterious policies and associated discourses to reveal their flawed assumptions and failed outcomes. I am sure that this book will reenergise and recommit us and its readers to continue to speak truth to power, as Birgit has always done – to stand up and shout “BINGO!” whenever and wherever necessary, as Birgit will always do – and to work alongside those progressive movements that are shaping alternative paths to a better future for the great majority of this planet.

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WHOSE EDUCATION FOR ALL? THE NEED FOR TEACHING GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE LIGHT OF BIRGIT BROCK-UTNE'S FINDINGS

By Regine Mehl

Introduction

Bretton Woods, a small city in New Hampshire (USA), is – with respect – probably the beginning of the decline of native languages to be used in any Southern native learning settings or in Southern educational contexts at all.

Why Bretton Woods? In Bretton Woods 44 states, including the subsequent winners of the World War II, met on 22nd July, 1944 to discuss and establish a new global financial architecture, including the birth of the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) and the *World Bank* – both instruments to intervene in case of financial turbulences.

The Bretton-Woods-System collapsed in 1971 and was on the ropes in 1973 – for several reasons.

The IMF and the WB, however, continued to be the two Western - dominated organisations – from then on – to define globally what development policy in their eyes could be. Both organisations are formally Special Agencies of the United Nations, but the relationship is very loose. Another distinctive difference is that contrary to the one state – one vote principle of the regular UN system, the IMF and the World Bank are using weighted voting, giving the rich countries a decisive vote.

While the IMF is a sister organisation of the WB and at the same time a special agency of the United Nations – it took a long way to go for the WB before it simply recognised, and hardly acknowledged, that the development of societies in the Southern World does not simply depend on capitalistic infrastructures à la mode and à la West – if at all, but also on an authentic social cohesion of the societies themselves.

The Importance of Using Native Languages for Development

Not at least Birgit Brock-Utne's studies on African and some Asian societies verified the importance and the social role of native languages within these contexts – as a crucial matter of creating identities. In numerous empirical studies she testified, that the intellectual potential of societies can reach its highest standards only if the individuals had the chance to start their lives as pupils by learning and being taught in their indigenous languages (Brock-Utne 1993, 1997, 2000, 2007, Brock-Utne and Hopson (eds.) 2005).

Several articles in the following part of this book deal with the same issue. The voice of Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2005) an especially strong voice in the debate introduces part five of this book.

In order to guard against misunderstandings: It's not a matter of intelligence, whether a society succeeds with its educational system, it's a matter of authentic identity building through the use and the allocation of indigenous teaching material and well-trained teachers with appropriate salaries.

However, if the political framework does not allow to go this way we have to face what Birgit found out in her book "Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind" (Brock-Utne 2000). In this book she completely dismantles, unfolds and reveals what the WB calls a "partnership in Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa". It's a fascinating unmasking of a "know-it-all" attitude towards the African societies in an age of post-modern Globalization, in which the North should take the chance to invite the Southern "Partners" as real partners – as we try to do with the programmeme "Managing Global Governance" (DIE/InWent 2008) and within this project with the "Global Governance School".

Managing Global Governance

Although our lingua franca within the course is English – otherwise we couldn't understand each other – English is only the means and a medium for the intention to come into a mutual dialogue – on eye-level. The programmeme "Managing Global Governance" itself is called a "dialogue programmeme". Managing Global Governance (MGG) is an initiative of Germany's Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), implemented jointly by DIE⁴⁵ and InWEnt⁴⁶ and complemented by the two-week programmeme International Futures by the Federal Foreign Office. Its purpose is to provide a unique exchange and learning opportunity for participants from emerging powers on the challenges of creating a sustainable, equitable and effective global governance architecture.

While the concept "Global Governance" as an original Western concept from the Western academia is a much disputed, discussed and contested idea, we invite young professionals between 25 and 45 from the seven so-called "anchor countries"

⁴⁵ The German Development Institute (DIE) is the country's leading think-tank for development policy. Working within the framework of international research networks, DIE bridges the gap between theory and practice. DIE bases its consulting and training activities on its own independent research. Further, it investigates development policy issues for public agencies both in Germany and abroad. And, finally, it provides an accurate assessment of the current status of co-operation between developing and industrialised nations.

⁴⁶ InWEnt – Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH Capacity Building International, Germany: (Germany's Centre for International Training and Development) InWEnt was established to improve international co-operation by offering support in developing human resources within relevant public and private institutions in partner nations. Every year, some 55,000 international managers and decision-makers from both business and governmental organisations take part in our programmemes.

(at the moment these are: Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico and South Africa) for a mutual learning process, on how to cope with global challenges, such as climate change, the existing unjust financial structure, the crisis of international institutions, violent conflicts and so forth.

The main topics of the Curriculum of the Global Governance course are:

- Definitions, concepts and theories of global governance;
- Ethics, norms, standards and regulatory frameworks of global governance;
- Foreign policy and effective multilateralism in the 21st century;
- Interests and power structures within the global system;
- Forms and institutions of regional and interregional co-operation;
- Poverty reduction, social development and sustainable livelihoods;
- Peace, human security, and crisis prevention;
- Gender aspects in global governance and gender-based development approaches;
- International trade and financial markets;
- Global ecosystems and natural resources;
- Innovation systems and technology transfer;
- The role of international development co-operation in global governance;
- The European Union as actor of regional and global governance;
- How Germany/Europe and their partner countries can jointly implement global governance goals; and
- Building of an international learning community.

The practice phase is arranged by InWEnt and DIE and carried out in close co-operation with German, European and multilateral public sectors, such as Ministry of Finance or Ministry of the Environment in Germany, the European Commission in Brussels or at the ILO/WTO/ UNCTAD in Geneva. But, appropriate business partners and civil institutions can also be the host organisations, depending on the availability and individual requirements. An added advantage to the research field phase is the opportunity for participants to develop long-term and lasting relationships with German and European institutions and organisations and among themselves. The knowledge and experience gained during the training phase in Germany is reinforced through continued alumni networking, in particular, concerning follow-up work carried out by participants in their home countries via the Global Campus 21® platform.

In contrast to what Birgit found out about the approaches and attitudes of the

WBG, we try to develop a mutual dialogue-oriented understanding of what Global Governance could stand for within and beyond the existing international regimes. We also look at the regional and communal levels of governance options, as we learn from our partners about local educational systems, based on indigenous languages and learning materials.

Birgit points out the criteria under which these dialogue-oriented mutual learning processes can be successful (Brock-Utne 2000: 234-235):

- No sending of experts to the South, but developing local capacity;
- Developing people-to-people projects and exchanges;
- Identifying successes in approaches, methods and implementations of developing projects;
- Low-cost community-based innovations; and
- Top priority on strengthening local indigenous institutions for innovative governing processes.

As this scenario would almost be ideal, we are facing also some structural problems with our approach and understanding of global governance:

- The countries of the South have adopted too many of the Western frames and faults; and
- Many of them completely depend on permanent governance assistance as they have never been given the chance to develop own and “home-made” models.

Many of the young professionals have studied abroad in countries of the West and North instead of studying in countries of the South. Coming back they are kind of “brain washed” regarding their own heritage compared to what they were taught in the West, in order to be imported into their home societies.

Let me end with the following: Globalization with all its effects remains and will still be a huge challenge also for the future. However, it will always be essential how we cope with it: Do we want to dominate or do we invite others for an eye-level partnership? If the latter were in favour of IMF and WB for instance, they would have given themselves a completely different framework – not at least within the past 20 years.

As intellectual and critical observers of the politics made by international governance institutions we are given the assignment to analyse structural reforms like Brock-Utne (2000) does and to find out how we can work under the conditions of mutual transparency and eye-level partnerships.

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EVOLVING METAPHORS OF DEVELOPMENT

By Øyvind Østerud

Introduction

During the last 60 years, the strategy and rhetoric of foreign aid has changed every 10 years or so. Successively, there has been massive capital export (*big push*), top - down diffusion, focusing on the poor, bottom - up participation, recipient ownership, conditionality, institution building and again massive capital export.

Despite the changing rhetoric, aid problems and distortions have been recreated continuously. The history of foreign aid has been accompanied by the history of inefficiencies, gross inequalities and corruption.

In fact, there is no proper theory of how economic growth and social wellbeing could be brought about from the outside.

Changing Rhetoric Does not Reflect Changing Needs

The regularly changing rhetoric does not reflect changing needs or even adjustment to experience. Foreign aid is basically an expression of the dominant ideology of the donor countries. It is designed to improve and confirm the donor countries image of themselves and the world.

I will substantiate this proposition with two major arguments:

- Firstly, the metaphor of development as such originated with the emergence of the bourgeois middle class in the industrialising West. The basic characteristic of the bourgeoisie is life as a carrier. The bourgeois is gradually moving upwards on a tilted plane, in contrast to the more static position of the aristocracy, the peasantry and the working class. This essential class characteristic was transferred symbolically to society as a whole, with the idea of societal evolution as a carrier. The notion of development is the core of this idea.
- Secondly, the experience of colonialism had a profound impact on the notion of foreign aid. Rudyard Kipling wrote *The White Man's Burden* in 1899. The US had conquered the Philippines in the Spanish-American War. The poem was an appeal to the US to develop the Philippines:

Take up the White Man's Burden –
The Savage wars of peace –
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease⁴⁷.

These lines are an echo of British colonial administrators in the 19th century. More important is the fact that they are resounded by aid agencies and NGOs today.

The idea of taking industrialism and modernity to the less fortunate continents has prevailed, while rhetoric and strategy has shifted from decade to decade. In the 1960s, the key to development was massive transfer of capital to break the evil circle of poverty. This strategy, when inefficient, was successively replaced by *bottom - up*, new modes of *trickle down*, a new *international economic order*, export substitution, neoliberal conditionality, recipient empowerment, and finally institution-building. Institution-building is now the prevalent answer to the problem of poverty and inequality, but – alas – it is not easily brought about by foreign aid.

The problem with the ever - changing rhetoric is that foreign aid reflects the perspectives and intellectual fashions of the industrialised world rather than the needs of the poor. The variety of conditions in the range of countries lumped together as *the developing countries* is blurred in the uniform ideologies of development. This was the case around the year 1900 as is the case today.

The lack of improved aid effectiveness indicates that changing aid policies have been donor driven. During the history of foreign aid – i.e. despite 50 years experience – the correlation between aid and development is not statistically significant (Doucouliagos and Paldam 2005, Riddell 2007). There has been economic growth in countries where foreign aid is negligible, and there has been stagnation or downturn in countries where foreign aid is substantial. Domestic institutions – including the ways and means of using resources to the benefit of the local population – seems to matter more than aid reception. The moral appeal of aid policies, like the moral appeal of imperialism, is covering up the realities behind the rhetoric.

Similarities between Colonialism and Foreign Aid

Like colonial rule, foreign aid should bring enlightenment, peace, welfare and civilisation to the poor, conflict-ridden and dark corners of the world.

There is also a more interest - based and political parallel between colonialism and foreign aid. In great power politics, there was a continuity based on some of the same considerations.

The donor recipient relationship after formal independence was also a way of gaining friends and influencing people, getting access to raw materials, hiding the extraction

⁴⁷ The poem was originally published in the popular magazine *McClure's* in 1899, with the subtitle *The United States and the Philippine Islands*. This excerpt is from the third verse of the seven verse poem.

of wealth, framing the world in the dominant partners' picture.

During the Cold War, the links were scarcely hidden. The demise of European colonialism overseas was jointly favoured by the two superpowers, while foreign aid became a substitute method for rivalry, influence and alliance formation in the wake of decolonisation. There was a strong Cold War motivation behind the policies of foreign aid from the 1950s to the late 1980s.

In major countries with a prominent colonial past, the parallel considerations and historical continuity are rather obvious. The critique of colonialism from the political left is pursued into a critique of aid policies, stressing the Cold War motive, the self-interest of the industrialised world, the creation of developing countries as clients, and the dependency syndrome. Here is an unbroken discourse in France, Great Britain and other countries with a colonial past.

The Situation of a Country Without a Colonial Past

When it comes to Norway, the linkages between colonialism and foreign aid are not clear. In a small country without a colonialist past, the self-image is innocent. With an idealistic and sentimental attitude to the Norwegian mission in a world of poverty, foreign aid is conceived as pure idealism.

Self-interest is ideologically covered up. While the colonialist rhetoric of civilising and emancipating and caring for the colonial peoples is debunked as hypocritical, it is equally tactless to suggest similar mechanisms in the foreign aid system (but see e.g. Brock-Utne 2000, 2004). With a weak critical tradition from the political left, critical perspectives on the aid industry are monopolised by the political right.

Norwegian ambition for idealistic crusades abroad increased substantially after the end of the Cold War. The so-called *policy of engagement* – foreign aid, peace mediation, human rights and environmental issues – became prominent in the foreign policy make-up of Norway. The integration in the Western alliance became less relevant, and Norway kept some lee-way outside the European Union. Unburdened by a colonial past and with a small state legacy of favouring international law and peaceful conflict resolution, Norway found her diplomatic *niche* in the policy of engagement.

Without having to account for colonialist parallels, this policy could proceed untainted by the hard headed scrutiny that prevailed in former imperialist states. In Britain and France, a similar policy of engagement is immediately searched for traces of colonialism by other means. The Norwegian self-image is intrinsically *innocent*. Good intentions and idealist statements, therefore, can more easily pass without close inspection.

A Need for a More Research Based Policy

The lesson to be learned is the need for a more - research based policy and a less ideological debate. The unintentional side effects and the hidden self - interest are paramount in the history of foreign aid, throughout the successive waves of rhetorical shift.

Intensive research is required by comparative analyses and in-depth case studies. The methodological problems should not be underrated. The major challenge is to identify causal mechanisms by a counterfactual control. Ideally, we should analyse one case at the same time with and without aid. This is impossible, and the substitute methods have weaknesses. When there is aid and growth, we cannot be sure whether the growth is caused by aid or by other factors. When there is aid and no growth, we do not know for sure whether the situation would have been even worse without aid. There are, therefore, many research challenges in aid assessment: insufficient data, deficient statistical techniques, discrepancies between effects in the short and the long term, a mismatch between micro and macro evaluations. The challenges are no argument for wishful thinking.

Archival research has even in Norway uncovered some of the more hard headed motives behind aid policies from the very beginning. One consideration was to give the radical opposition to Norwegian membership in the Western alliance a more positive and harmless field of engagement.

Likewise, there are historical parallels between the Christian missionary tradition and foreign aid. The historian Olav Riste, in a recent overview of Norway's foreign relations, argues that *the missionary impulse* has played a crucial role in shaping the ethical make-up of Norwegian foreign policy after the end of the Cold War (Riste 2005). The missionary impulse is a long historical tradition for sending missionaries to less fortunate countries on distant continents. Norwegians got their experiences and gratifications overseas as missionaries to central and southern Africa, to the Indian Ocean and to the Far East. This tradition was untainted by formal colonisation, in contrast to many other European countries. The moral impulse was therefore unbroken with the upheaval of decolonisation. The ethical imperative was transferred to the world in the aftermath of colonialism and superpower rivalry. The Norwegian tradition was rather continuous and relatively unproblematic.

Later – from the 1960s, 1970s and onwards – the missionary tradition went secular, stressing gender equality, gay liberation and other progressive causes in dealing with the recipient countries. Now as always, foreign aid reflects the trends and ideologies of the donor countries.

Even more recently, there was a turn from saving souls to neo-liberal conditionality and *worldbankification* of bilateral as well as multilateral aid (Brock-Utne 2007).

The history of foreign aid, in short, is the history of the ideological turns and twists in the dominant donor countries. On the other hand, the effects on poverty, uneven distribution and lack of growth are meagre.

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THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN AFRICA

THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION CONUNDRUM IN AFRICA

By Kwesi Kwaa Prah

Introduction

Of all the problems we face in African education today, the most nettlesome appears to be the question of language of instruction. In concrete terms, it boils down to the option between a colonially introduced language and a local language, preferably the mother tongue. This is an issue about which Birgit Brock-Utne (1993, 2000a, 2001, 2005, 2007) has persistently laboured and had a lot to say and debate about. The question she has in one of her papers trenchantly asked in the title is *Education for All, in Whose Language?* (Brock-Utne 2000b, 2001). In that paper, she observes that in as far as African languages as languages of instruction are concerned, two distinct trends are discernible. Firstly, there is “a strengthening of dominant languages which, in the context of Africa, means the former colonial languages” (Brock-Utne 2000b: iv). Secondly, there is also, “a growing concern among African ministers of education and some intellectuals for a preservation and revival of African languages as languages of instruction in at least the primary schools in Africa” (Brock-Utne 2000b: iv). She rightly argued that these two situations are in tension.

The relevance of this issue is underscored by Martha Qorro’s sparkling witticism that; “to want to give education without considering the medium of instruction is like wanting to give water to a village but not considering the pipes” (quoted here from Brock-Utne 2006: 21). Martha Qorro (2009) belaboured this point further in her key note address at the LEA (Languages and Education in Africa) conference which took place in Oslo in June 2006.

Malekela (2003: 111) makes the decisive judgement that; “To continue using English as a medium of instruction in post-primary education is a torture to most of our children; and it is unfair.”

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Why is it Right to Educate English-Speaking but Wrong to Educate African Language Speaking Children Through their Mother Tongue?

In whose language should we pursue African education (Brock-Utne 2001)? The issue has been also taken up by Zubeida Desai (2003: 46) who points out that; “In South Africa too, mother tongue education is seen as a given for English-speaking, and to a lesser extent, Afrikaans-speaking, learners. It is taken for granted that these learners will learn the best through their primary languages. However, when it comes to speakers of African languages, the debate rages furiously. Why is this *right* then so *wrong* for the majority of learners in African countries such as South Africa?” The problem has variously, to equal measure, been amply laid bare by all these and other observers.

Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, nowhere else in the world, but in Africa, do we in all seriousness ask ourselves this question. To pose this question in France, Norway, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands, Germany, Russia, China, Japan, Vietnam, Thailand, Korea, Indonesia or most other places in the world would be almost laughable. Why is this still an issue when it comes to Africa and Africans? Why is, what is considered to be common sense to the rest of the world a great and endlessly continuing issue of debate and dissension in Africa?

Africa proper (non-Arabic Africa) is the only area of the world where the overwhelming majorities (90 percent and often more), half a century after the departure of the colonial powers, continue to use the languages of their former colonial masters to increasing degrees as languages of instruction. This extended lease on life of the colonial languages is possible largely because those groups and social elements in charge of African societies, the elites, want to keep the colonial languages and want to use these languages as languages of instruction.

In cultural and linguistic terms, the African elites are generally closely tied to the cultures and languages of their erstwhile masters. Invariably they speak, read and write the languages of their previous masters and only have oral command over their own home languages, although these latter are the languages spoken by the overwhelming majorities of their societies. Many are thus illiterate in their own languages. Their leadership and status in their societies are culturally maintained, singularly, on the basis of the fact that they enjoy relative mastery of the colonial languages, above the masses. They therefore have a built-in tendency, in order to protect their social interests, to protect the hegemony of the colonial languages. Let us trace the underpinnings of this African conundrum.

Indigenously Conceived Writing Systems

Old Africa, before the Western encounter, was only patchily literate. In the Horn area there had been traditions of literacy which predate most of the western experience. Old Ethiopic, *Ge'ez*, was written centuries before the Romans entered Britain. Indeed, early inscriptions in *Ge'ez* and the *Ge'ez* alphabet have been dated to as early as the 5th century BC, and in a sort of proto-*Ge'ez* written in Epigraphic South Arabian letters since the 8th century BC. *Ge'ez* literature begins in the earnest with the Christianisation of Ethiopia and the foundation of the Axumite civilisation in the 4th century.

In much of Sahelian Africa, from the Senegambia to East Africa littoral, varieties of *Ajami* (local languages written with the Arabic script) were used to write African languages as a result of the Arabo-Islamic expansion which followed after the death of the prophet Mohammed and the entry of Arabs into Africa from the middle of the 7th Century AD. The central legacy of this *Ajami* heritage lies preeminently with the Timbuktu heritage tradition.

In the Horn area of Somalia, Arabic script was first introduced in the 13th century by Sheikh Yusuf al-Kowneyn to aid Koranic teaching. In the 19th century Sheikh Uways al-Barawi improved the writing of Somali with the Arabic script and based it on the Maay dialect of Southern Somalia. In South Africa, the first written version of Afrikaans was produced in *Ajami* by the Muslim Malay slaves who were brought to the Cape by their Dutch masters. In both cases, that is *Ajami* and *Ge'ez*, the social bases of the literacy traditions were narrow and where largely driven by religious castes and orders. Even in the case of *Ajami* where the social basis was broadened this was undertaken to reinforce the basis of proselytisation and religious pursuits. Arabic remained a preferred vehicle for the transmission of the doctrine and until today for some Islamists it is “the language of God” (as Colonel Gadhafi would have it).

As I have elsewhere indicated, over and above the “imported” scripts, Africa has some indigenous examples of written forms (Prah 2008). The Akan of the Ivory Coast and Ghana developed the *Adinkra* system of ideograms. Until 1972, when the latin script was adopted by the Siad Barre administration, pre-eminently the Somali language was unofficially, but popularly rendered in the *Osmania* script devised by Osman Yusuf Keenadiid. While it was in form a good part Ethiopic, it had also significant Arabic and Italian influences. Previous to that, in 1933 Sheikh Abdurahman Sheikh Nour had invented a script for Somali known as *Borama* or otherwise called *Gadabuursi* which was in practice only used by the Sheikh's small and narrow group of acolytes in Borama.

The Vai script, strictly speaking a syllabary or a catalogue of characters, each of which denotes a syllable rather than a single sound, was created in the 1830s by Momadu Bukele. It remains popular in Liberia, particularly among the Vai, where it is mostly used in informal correspondence. More recently, in the sub-region, Mende

(a purely phonetic Mende script from Sierra Leone was devised around 1920 by Kisimi Kamala), Loma, Kpelle and Bassa, have developed related scripts, which lean on the Vai example. All of these, like the Vai example, are syllabaries. The alphabet, Nko, was devised by Souleyman Kante in 1949. Till today, it is used very restrictedly and primarily by speakers within the Mandingo, Malinke, Bambara, Dioula, Kasonke cluster, especially in Guinea, Mali and Ivory Coast. A Bambara “Ma-sa-ba” syllabary was devised by Woyo Couloubali in the Kaarta region of Mali in 1930. Between the decade spanning 1920 and 1931, syllabaries had appeared for Mende, Bassa, Loma, Kpelle and Efik-Ibibio. An earlier esoteric alphabet has been in use for about a century among the Efik in southeastern Nigeria. Better known, perhaps, and historically better widely studied is the Bamum script (Shūmon) invented and developed under the direction of King Njoya of southern Cameroon. It was originally conceived as a logographic system, and was gradually changed by successive royal edicts and directives first to a syllabary and subsequently to an alphabet. After 1910, his scribes began compiling the chronicle of the Bamum Kingdom. This was finished during the 1920s in the closing years of Njoya’s reign.

A Great Number of Indigenously Conceived Writing Systems Were Produced

In sum, over the past century a number of indigenously conceived writing systems have been produced. Most of them have from the start been largely esoteric and invariably religious in inclination. There is also the particularly interesting case of *Oberi Okaimé* a language which was created by members of a millenarian sect based in the village of Ikpa in the Itu Division of Calabar Province in 1931. The sect was founded in 1927, but the language emerged in 1931. There is no evidence that the language and script survived beyond the 1930’s. None of these African scripts has been effective competition to the colonially introduced Roman alphabet. None seriously moved outside the narrow confines of small exclusivist groups, often semi-religious. It is interesting to note that this religious dimension of literacy and scripts is shared by religious communities as historical entities in other parts of the world (Prah 2008).

Thus, Africa with the exception of small pockets remained preliterate until the arrival of the West in Africa. In geographical expanse, until Western presence almost two - thirds of Africa was preliterate. Literacy, with Western presence was inaugurated largely and almost overwhelmingly by missionary groups whose intentions were prominently, in the first instance, the winning of “souls” to Christianity and secondly, the facilitation of the colonial project through the education of selected elites.

A Distinctly Different Situation in Large Parts of Asia

The situation in large parts of Asia was distinctly different. The Chinese were writing long before Europeans came to writing. India is a similar case in point (*Brāhmī* and *Kharo.s.thī* from the 5th century BC.). The Arab world enjoyed writing in a more socially extensive way than Westerners did until the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. In Japan and Korea, *Kanji* and *Hanja*, respectively, had arrived from China in the opening centuries of the AD era. This writing tradition moved from Korea to Japan in the 5th century AD. In both instances the spread of Buddhism had been crucial to the transfer of the writing system. Therefore, the existence of autonomous traditions of writing, beyond Western initial stimulus, had existed as cultural traditions which were strong enough to resist Western defacement, during the era of colonialism. This had not been the case in Africa where writing and its benefits, for a huge part of the continent, had been introduced through Western tutelage.

One of the key differences in the development experience of Asia in contrast to Africa is precisely the point that, none of the phenomenally developing Asian states is advancing forward into modernity on the basis of colonial languages. Capitalist development in Asia has been sufficiently and successfully adapted to the cultural baggage of Asia. The cultural dressing of Asian development is more Asian than Western. In other words, Asia has indigenised Westernism. An important facilitatory factor which partially accounts for Asian success in utilising its culture as a basis for social and economic advancement in our times is the literate base of a good part of Asian cultures. Jack Goody has drawn attention to this point with the argument that:

Indeed part of the phenomenon called neo-colonialism has to be seen in terms of this very openness which is associated with the absence of a strong, written tradition that can stand up against the written cultures of the world system. There are important distinctions to be made between different socio-cultural regions of the Third World, of the world system, not simply in terms of their relationship with the metropolis but in terms of their own indigenous, socio-cultural organisation, in terms of communications as well as the economy. While the major societies of the Asian continent were strongly affected by the expansion of Europeans, they were more rarely 'colonies' in the African, American and Oceanic sense; nor are they today neo-colonial from the cultural standpoint. Their written traditions have provided them with a more solid basis for cultural resistance than is the case with most oral cultures. (Goody [1986] 1989: 86).

The validity of this observation appears to me to be incontrovertible. It is a point which must have implications for future development planning in Africa. However, an additional point which must be made is that while a written culture has made the resistance against cultural neocolonialism of parts of Asia more successful, what

has perhaps been most central in this cultural resilience has been the standing of the world religions of West Asia and Asia proper. Western cultural penetration of the non-Western world never successfully undermined the status of the major religions of Asia the way they successfully did in Africa. African religious practices were judgementally “heathenised”. In Asia, although the Westerner never in theory doubted the superiority of Christianity to all else, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, or Shintoism were never seriously regarded as religious confessions to be replaced as part of the “white man’s burden”. Such literate religious lore was backed up by literate priesthoods or castes which were sociologically determinate, in time tested ways, to the protection of vital traditional social institutions. Crucial in this regard was the fact that they were written religious cultures with scholarly and verifiable histories. As cultural bases, this provided Asia with a confidence which was not significantly dented by the colonial experience.

The Missionary Position on African Languages

Missionaries have been overwhelmingly the pioneers in rendering African languages into literate expression. Their concerns have not been the achievement of African literacy as an end in itself, but rather literacy as a facilitator for, in the first instance, evangelisation, and secondly, towards the amelioration of the human condition. Their partners in this quest were the colonial administrations. And indeed, from the early years, colonial governments left native education in the hands of the missionaries.

For the missionaries, in order to reach the “hearts and souls” of Africans, it was obviously expedient to reach them in their own languages. But apart from this, in order to effect the emergence of an elite conducive to the practical intentions of colonial administrators, it was necessary to ensure proficiency in the colonial languages. The dichotomy embedded in these two separate objectives produced long-lasting tensions which, have been passed on to the present period (Prah 2005).

Right from the start, the missionaries favoured the use of African languages as languages of instruction in education. This position was described in the later years as the “older anthropological school” (Hailey 1938: 1223).

The colonial project required, however, also the existence of Africans (at least an elite) who spoke wrote and were able to think, even if limitedly, in the colonial language. The Phelps – Stokes Commission Reports of the early 1920s (Jones 1922 ,and 1925) suggested that; “Tribal languages should be used in the lower elementary stages, while in the areas with a degree of linguistic differentiation a *lingua franca* of African origin was to be used in the middle forms. For this latter purpose Swahili in East Africa was favoured. The language of the European nation should be begun in the upper standards only” (Jones 1922: 26).

The same point was affirmed in two *British Memoranda of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies* (1925 and 1935) where the view was that, the use of local vernaculars (as they were designated) in education, particularly in the lower forms, was to be stressed (Foster 1965: 160). Seventy years ago, Recognising the divergent pulls which colonial expediency on one hand and long-term African interests on the other hand, dictated. Hailey observed that;

... but it is not yet possible to estimate the extent to which they will determine the survival of different languages or language groups. A language, over and above its value as a means of communication, is an integral part of the individuality of a people, intimately connected with every aspect of its social life, and it derives from this source that 'emotional' quality which makes it resistant to influences from external sources. It was the emotional element which enabled some of the European languages to resist the influence of latinization and to emerge subsequently in a national form, while others, though submitting to the Latin influence, nevertheless reproduced much of their own idiom and vocabulary in the form of language finally evolved. There are, again, many instances in which people who have been politically and economically assimilated have still retained their own speech. Resistance of this type is, however, a varying force; as Meillet has pointed out with regard to the past, 'all the regions whose history is at all ancient have, within historical times, changed their languages at least once, and often two or three times.' *Only experience will show the extent to which the African languages, with their absence of a literary tradition, will assert themselves in the face of the influences to which they are being subjected.* (Hailey 1938: 97 – 98, italics mine).

Language of Instruction under Colonialism

As colonialism in Africa matured, so also did the entrenchment of language policies and practices, which elevated the position of colonial languages as languages of instruction. As compared to the British, the French from the start, tended to be very partial to the use of French as language of instruction, from the earliest age of schooling. We are informed that: "The Belgians had always stressed the necessity for a broad basis of elementary instruction in the vernacular and by 1954, for example, the percentage of the total Congolese population in schools was 9.4 per cent as against 4.5 per cent in British territories and 2.7 per cent in French areas" (Foster 1965: 172 footnote 19).

The tensions between classical missionary-advised language of instruction wisdom on one hand and colonial administrative needs on the other continued right through the colonial period. But, the fact that education was funded by colonial governments and that the missionary schools received significant subsidies from the colonial governments meant that the interests, as expressed by colonial governments, increasingly overwhelmed and dominated policy options. By the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, the picture of language of instruction policies for a few countries was expressed as follows:

In Nyasaland the vernacular is the medium of instruction during the first four years in primary schools. English is then introduced as a subject in lower, middle, or central schools for three years and becomes the medium of instruction in upper, middle, or station schools.

In Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda the use of Swahili as a convenient language in place of the local vernacular is common. In this connexion the policy put forward by the Director of Education in Uganda is important, and indicates a tendency in Uganda to replace Swahili by the vernacular or even English. The Director advocates the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction during the first four years and the introduction of English as a subject in Class IV, the emphasis on the vernacular decreasing until English becomes the medium; Swahili should be permissive and introduced only if desired as a subject in Class III.

This is in effect the practice obtaining in Buganda and Busoga, and it is suggested that it should be extended to some other linguistic groups. In Kenya, Swahili is introduced as a medium of instruction at the third or fourth standard between the vernacular and English, as a solution of the difficulty of providing instruction in a vernacular to pupils of mixed tribes speaking different languages in schools which are not advanced enough or equipped with staff qualified to use English as a medium.

In the native administration schools of Tanganyika, Swahili is the medium and English is not taught; in the government and mission primary schools, however, Swahili is the medium for the first four years only, after which English becomes the medium.

In Northern Nigeria English is the medium at the 'middle' or secondary stage. For pupils whose primary education has been entirely in the vernacular, a preliminary year is devoted to the intensive study of English.

In the Gold Coast English becomes the medium after Standard III. Although it is generally recognised that the introduction of a second native language as a medium, or the usage of a lingua franca instead of the local language is far from ideal, and also that it is important not to alienate the native from his mother tongue, the difficulties of providing teachers and text-books in the vernaculars and of instruction to mixed classes are in some areas insuperable, (Hailey 1938: 1258 – 1259).

The upshot of this evidence is that, during the colonial period, in as far as the language of instruction policies were concerned, "all roads led to English, French or Portuguese". Where Swahili was introduced, this was done as a temporary convenience to be superseded at a later stage by English. Hailey explains the rationale behind the English-led language of instruction policy thus:

The language to be used as a medium of instruction, and the stage at which the teaching of English, or of a useful and widely spoken language such as Swahili, can be introduced, present complex problems. The diversity of native languages is considerable and large language groups are the exception

rather than the rule. The measures taken to meet this difficulty have been described. An important factor is the desire of Africans themselves to learn English, which in many cases is the incentive to seek education. A knowledge of English is of commercial value, for at the mines, the trading stores, and on European estates the English-speaking native can often command a better position and a higher wage. Again, there is the natural desire of the African to learn a language which is that of his rulers; the scarcity of general literature in the vernaculars is not without its influence in this direction among a people to whom reading is a new-found pleasure. The weight of native opinion has sometimes led schools to attempt the teaching of English in early standard through inadequately equipped teachers, a system that leads to discouragement. (Hailey 1938: 1257 – 1258).

Seen from the viewpoint of the colonial power, it is not surprising that they favoured policies which would entrench their interests and power. They had created elites which shared profound cultural interests with them. The linkage which this implied extended into the foreseeable future. Much as some elements in the metropolitan governments and their local representatives may have admitted that the colonial project would have to be abandoned at some stage, and independence acceded to, all of this was seen to be in the distant and misty future. By the time the colonial project became visibly doomed and prospectively terminal, there was a distinct elite and semi-elite in place which had interests in maintaining the *status quo*, in most respects.

Language of Instruction – from Colonialism to Post-Colonialism

Throughout Africa, almost without exception, the transition from colonialism to post-colonialism or neo-colonialism went through without seriously cataclysmic hiccups. Reference is often made to the violent turbulence experienced in the Portuguese colonies, and the other settler-colonial states, i.e. Kenya, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. However, fuller examination reveals that even in these societies, with the exception of Zimbabwe, the colonial state was never completely replaced by nationalist insurgents. The African elites inherited the colonial states. They hardly reformed them and their state infrastructures were certainly not replaced. This point extends not only to economic considerations, but also to the cultural, political and social dimensions of the colonial states.

Indeed, it is arguable that the elites almost naturally fitted into the scheme of things. They had been leaders of native society, but leaders who spoke the languages of the colonial masters and shared many of the introduced tastes, values and other practices that had been taught them during the period of colonial tutelage. They were culturally thus, removed from the cultural life of mass society. The masses were the custodians of the old culture of Africa and spoke African languages. The elites spoke the language of Shakespeare and Racine. It was therefore not surprising

that the policies in education particularly the language of instruction policies were simply continued. In fact, these policies were reinforced and entrenched in the post-colonial era. In as far as they represented unreformed colonial policies in the post-colonial era, they can be described as neo-colonial.

Kashoki illustrates with an account of his life the way in which our inappropriate language policies affected his life and experience. In his paper on; *Prevalence of Functional Illiteracy in the Mother Tongue: Is Socio-economic Development via Indigenous African Languages Attainable in Contemporary African Societies?* He writes that:

For purposes of vivid illustration, I offer myself in this regard as a ready representative case in point: Born in 1937, in Northern Rhodesia, the present-day Zambia, I began to acquire my Western type of formal education in 1945 at the not-so-tender age of twelve by today's standards. At that time the prevailing language-in-education policy was based unequivocally on the principle which held that a (school) child should receive instruction both in and through his or her own mother tongue and that this right should not be withheld from the African child, and further that, as a general rule, the first three years of school education should be carried on exclusively in an African language.

Thus it was that when I first entered a school classroom in sub-standard A in 1945, I was fortunate to be given the opportunity to begin acquiring the basic skills of reading and writing in my own mother tongue- Ibibemba, which at that time, fortuitously, happened to be one of the indigenous African languages that had been included among those officially prescribed for use in the formal education system in Northern Rhodesia.

Then in 1949, now in Standard III, after a brief period of savouring the privilege of being instructed through the medium of my own mother tongue, *what I now consider to be a personal life-time tragedy befell me as well as others of my generation. This was so because at this point the language-in-education policy now stipulated that from henceforth I would be required to learn and to be taught in a foreign language – English – throughout the rest of my formal education. As a result of this, I have remained in a continuous state of elopement with the English language to this day, all in all, a span of some 58 years, or slightly more than of my life time on this planet* (italics mine).

In order for the point being made to be appreciated, it is pertinent to recount yet another personal experience in the same vein. Towards the late 1990s, as response on my part to the challenge posed by the Language Plan of Action for Africa to specialists working in the field of language that they should strive to strike a proper balance between the scientific study of African languages and their practical promotion, I most unwisely (i.e. without fully realizing what I was getting myself into) applied to the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the University of Zambia, where I have been based as a

researcher since 1971, for funds to enable me undertake a research project that was designed to entail describing Ibibemba orthographic rules through (or in) the medium of the language itself. In the course of undertaking this scholarly piece of work, I soon came to realize that the protracted period of slightly more than half a century of unbroken attachment to the English language had acted adversely to distance me almost totally from my mother tongue. *The most notable lesson I came to learn from this experiment was that at this point in my life I had great difficulty functioning as a scholar in my native language. In other words, Ibibemba had in practical terms virtually become a foreign language to me over the years,* (Kashoki 2008 italics mine).

A number of African languages are designated national languages

What is remarkable is that since the beginning of the post-colonial era in one state after the other Africans have elected to designate as national languages a number of their local languages. But there is hardly any movement in elevating the status of these languages to official languages. In many African constitutions, on paper, these national languages are given lofty and almost equal status to the colonial languages. But indeed, this remains simply on paper. There is little practically done to implement the thinking behind such policies. Instead, what we invariably find is that the entrenchment and expansion of the role of the colonial languages has steadily increased. In some cases, like in Madagascar, Tanzania and Somalia where at some point strong indications and initiatives in favour of local languages as languages of instruction had been made, we have subsequently seen major reversals. In Lesotho, Madagascar, Somalia, Central African Republic, Botswana and Swaziland where practically there are African languages spoken by almost all the people, we still see no headway in favour of the African languages.

In many of the important meetings and subsequent declarations made by Pan-African institutions, much pious intentions and statements of purpose have been given to the importance of African languages to social transformation and development. But we still have to see the practical expression of political will and serious intent at realizing these nationalist sentiments with respect to language and language of instruction policies.

The Mother Tongue has Superior Advantages for Literacy Education

In a UNESCO-sponsored conference for African Ministers of Education which took place in Abidjan from the 17th to the 24th of March 1964, it was concluded that; the mother tongue has superior advantages for literacy education for both pupils and adults. Over the years, such sentiments have been fairly common and incessantly repeated. In the same year, 1964, a *Meeting of Experts on the Utilization of the Mother Tongue for Literacy Education* was held in Ibadan. In 1966, in Bamako,

a *UNESCO Experts Meeting on the Transcription of African Languages* endorsing the same finding took place. A *Pan-African Cultural Festival* held in Algiers in 1969 reiterated the spirit of African linguistic assertion and revitalisation. Other meetings of significance were held in: Yaoundé (1970), Cotonou (1975), Port-Louis (1976), Niamey (1978), Ouagadougou (1978), Bamako (1979), Abidjan (1980), Bamako (1981), Nouakchott (1981), UNESCO (1982), Addis Ababa (1986), Accra (1996), Okahandja (1996), Harare (1997), Asmara (2000), Bamako (2000), Bamako (2001), Bamako (2002), Kinshasa (2003), Accra (2005) Windhoek (2005) and Accra (2006).

Most of these meetings were sponsored by UNESCO, and all of them restated the essentiality of local or mother tongue approaches to literacy education and language of instruction policies, especially during the early years of education. The Association for the Development of Education in Africa has strongly advocated an approach characterised by education in the mother tongue for at least 7 years — preferably much longer. (ADEA 2006). The thinking behind this was probably best stated by the findings of the *Pan-African Cultural Festival* in Algiers in 1969. In their report it was stated that:

... the national language plays an irreplaceable role, it is the mainstay and the medium of culture, the guarantee of popular support both in its creation, and its consumption. Once we had recovered our sovereignty, it was a first essential duty for us to revive the national languages inherited from our forefathers, without in any way calling to question the profound unity of our nations. Language is one of these features in the life of peoples which embody their genius. It develops with them, and they cannot be deprived of it without being out of it, wounded and handicapped. Nevertheless, and in order to survive and fight, a part of our peoples had to learn the language of our colonizers. There is no one language which is basically more suited than another to be a mainstay of science and knowledge. A language translates and expresses the lives and thoughts of men. From the time when our development was suspended, our cultures trampled underfoot and the teaching of our languages often forbidden, it has been obvious that we must double our efforts to make African languages efficient instruments for our development. The analysis of our cultural realities reveals to us the dynamic elements in the life of peoples, in both their spiritual and material aspects. Among these elements which made up our indomitable African personality, we should emphasize these values which have come down to us in spite of the vagaries of our history and the colonialist attempts at depersonalization. From them can be abstracted a sense of ethics revealing a profound inborn sense of solidarity, hospitality, mutual aid, brotherhood and the feeling of belonging to the same humanity. These values and this sense of ethics are to be found expressed in our African languages, in our oral and written literatures, in our tales, legends, sayings and proverbs, transmitting the wisdom and experiences evolved by our peoples. (Quoted here from Langley 1979: 791).

The Language Plan of Action for Africa

The 1986 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Heads of States Meeting in Addis Ababa adopted a *Language Plan of Action for Africa* which amongst other things stated that “at national level, the imperative need for each OAU Member State is to formulate with the minimum delay a language policy that places indigenous languages, or languages spoken and in active use by its peoples at the centre of its socio-economic development.”

A decade later, during the, Pan-African Seminar on *The Problems and Prospects of the Use of African National Languages in Education* held in Accra (26 - 30 August, 1996), the Charter which emerged; *For the Promotion and Use of African Languages in Education*, stated in its preamble that:

1. Whereas, for over one hundred and fifty years, efforts have been ongoing, both by Africans themselves and others, for interested persons and institutions, towards the development of the languages of Africa for use in education and as tools for both the material and the cultural uplift of the African peoples; as evidenced by the following agreements, among others: The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (1963); The UNESCO Declaration on the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (1966); The OAU Cultural Charter for Africa (1976); The OAU Lagos Plan of Action (1980); The Declaration on the Cultural Aspects of the Lagos Plan of Action (1985); The OAU Language Plan of Action for Africa (1986).
2. And whereas these efforts have continued throughout the years and very significant contributions have been made through African language studies and promotion to the determination of linguistic universals and to human understanding and development in general.
3. Whereas today there is widespread recognition of the importance of African languages not just for the above purposes, but even more so, as key factors in the total social and economic emancipation and the cultural and spiritual advancement of the African peoples.
4. Whereas there is now near total awareness of the value of education using the African languages for the purpose; and all but a few of the African states are now committed to the fullest possible use of their languages in education

I was at this meeting. Another 11 years have since passed. Little or no headway has been made. A group of African and international experts sponsored by ADEA, UIL in Hamburg and GTZ worked for a couple of years producing a report urging the use of African languages as languages of instruction (ADEA 2006). Several high-level meetings based on this report were held in Windhoek, Namibia in 2005 and in Accra, Ghana in 2006.

The riddle remains that, in the face of such Afrocentric ideas and ideals in high places on language of instruction and the place of national languages in the social and cultural lives of Africans, why does the persistence of the central role of the colonial languages continue? Why is there consistently a lack of political will to implement these ideals?

Current Language of Instruction in Education Policies

Any examination of the varieties of language of instruction policies in Africa reveals a basic character which features fairly ubiquitously from country to country. Almost all of them seem to favour the employment of the respective colonial language beyond three to four years of primary school home language/mother tongue language of instruction.⁴⁸ The logic which comes through from this policy is that the mother tongue for well-shared universal reasons is the best foundation for commencing education. Therefore it is crucial. As a concession it is allowed three to four years initial education. Then pupils are switched on to the languages of, if you like, “lofty education”. What this implies is that the mother tongue, or for that matter African languages, are for one reason or the other unsuitable for education beyond the primary level and should give way as soon as possible to the colonial language. During the colonial period the logic of this policy rested more on the fact that the colonial project was built on the language of the master. The master could not administer the colonial project without the use of the colonial language. This rationale falls flat the moment the colonial power leaves or is dismissed and processes of the emancipation of the formerly colonised peoples becomes the desired order of the day.

The reasons offered during the colonial period for the limited and temporary use of local languages were articulated thus:

1. There are too many African languages for us to be able to justify rationally and economically their use.
2. African languages have limited demographic and geographical significance, therefore it is wiser to use global languages.
3. African languages have limited lexical capacity to deal with the realities of modern society, science and technology.
4. African languages do not make for the so-called “societal unity”.

These reasons have been inherited and are propagated now, quietly, by African elites who, as earlier indicated, make sanctimonious pronouncements about the unsurpassed value of national languages for education and development, but then proceed to practice policies which undermine their declared hopes and aspirations. If we examine the arguments that are made against the use of African languages through the whole length of the education system their spuriousness is not difficult establish.

⁴⁸ Tanzania and Ethiopia are exceptions on the African scene using African languages as languages of instruction for the first seven (Tanzania) to eight (Ethiopia) years of schooling.

The Myth of the African Tower of Babel

The myth of the African Tower of Babel has been argued against on countless occasions by observers who have insights and knowledge of African languages. Seventy years ago it was observed that; “Great as is the seeming multiplicity of languages, there is not an equal measure of real diversity: the tendency of closer examination has been to reveal significant and essential similarities not only in the sound system and vocabulary, but even more in structure and idiom” (Hailey 1938: 97).

In recent years, the work of CASAS has revealed that as first, second or third language speakers at least 80 percent of Africans speak no more than 15 – 17 “core languages” (by core languages we mean, languages in a cluster which enjoy a very high degree of mutual intelligibility). The problem of using African languages on the basis of large demographic variables arises only because there is not enough cooperation between African states on this issue, but perhaps more fundamentally, Africans are not yet sufficiently convinced that unless they use their own languages development and modernity would be unattainable (Prah 2005).

The argument of the limited demographic and geographical significance is also tied to the conceptual fractionalisation of African languages. The moment we understand that in, for example, the Sudan, Bari, Mondari, Nyangbara, Fajelu, Kuku and Kakwa are not separate languages but dialectal variants of the same languages and that, another example, Asante, Fanti, Akyem, Akuapim, Kwawu are not separate languages but variants of Akan, and so on. the idea of an African Tower of Babel falls flat.

No Language is Inherently Blessed with Science and Technology

It is of course possible to develop African languages. No language is from Adam designated or blessed with science and technology. Languages acquire these facilities when we provide the necessary inputs to develop them. Their lexical capacity requires attentive and goal-directed measures. In Liliana Mammino’s significant work on; *Terminology in Science and Technology* she writes that one:

frequently happens to hear that ‘African languages do not have the proper terms and, therefore, they cannot express science.’ This statement is born by the confusion between *language and science* and *terminology* and it imbeds the idea that terminology terms are the true knowledge-carriers. Such idea is the actual philosophical assumption underlying the opinion that current inadequacies in terminology are tantamount to the impossibility of expressing science. The degree of awareness about this philosophical (and methodological) aspect varies largely in different contexts, and many of those

who express that opinion might have never analysed its philosophical roots. However, the statement is often perceived and accepted as a truth whose validity could be taken for granted ... that statement has no foundations, ... it is rooted in confusions between features having different natures and different roles (Mammino 2006: Preface).

Little to Be Gained in Creating Culturally Homogenous State Entities

The other idea which has with time proven to be of little value and in fact is societally pernicious is the notion that in order to avoid ethnic or tribal manifestations African languages should be eschewed in favour of colonial languages. There is little to be gained in supposing that we can create culturally homogenous state entities out of societies which have from time immemorial had different ethnic formations. Attempts to do this in Africa have rather created ethnic rivalries and tensions manipulated by contending elites in their struggles for resources. Current wisdom shared by the United Nations is that it is more judicious to celebrate diversity and create space for tolerance and peaceful coexistence of different nationalities in any given state. This requires also decentralisation of authority and devolution of power to local communities empowering them to control the circumstances governing their own lives and culturally allowing them to be. Much as we may want to do this, we need to remember that the idea of celebration of diversity cannot be licenced for the wanton creation of diversity. We do not have to elevate every district, dialectal variant or ethno-cultural sub-unit to the level of a nationality. Political democracy, devolution and decentralisation deal effectively with the empowerment of groups at the grassroots level.

African Languages Should be Used for the Entire Educational System

All societies which have developed towards modernity have done so on the basis of their own cultures and languages. In our times, this has been aptly borne out by the experience of China, Vietnam, Malaysia, India, Indonesia and other countries. Many of these countries were colonial territories in the same way that African countries were. The serious difference between these Asian states and African states is that development and modernity in Asia is being negotiated on the basis of Asian cultural and linguistic peculiarities.

Again, the argument that African should use their languages for three to four years at the primary school level and then move into the colonial languages is another way of saying that African languages are irredeemably doomed to backwardness and

perdition. It is a lie which serves ultimately the maintenance of neo-colonialism, at the cultural level. The idea also implies that the three to four year foundation is only meant to prepare African children to the later use of the colonial languages.

My argument is that African languages should be used for the entire educational system. So that Africans in their democratic majorities develop on the basis of their own histories, cultures and languages and also have confidence, self-affirmation and self-reliance in the production and reproduction of knowledge. The earlier such wisdom is cultivated and implemented, the sooner we shall be able to move towards unfettered modernity in Africa. It is also important to point out that, if we do not proceed on this basis, which ensures a democratic approach to the language question in Africa and which empowers the masses with their own languages, we are headed, at some stage, towards a collision between the elites and the masses.

The Need to Harmonize Mutually Intelligible Speech Forms

At the level of language and the implication of the production of materials in African languages we need to harmonise mutually intelligible speech forms so that on the economies of scale we rationally allow the production of literature accessible to large communities. I am happy to report here that CASAS has made pioneering headway in this direction (Prah 2008b).

As things currently stand CASAS' overall record can be represented as follows. Of the 15 – 17 major clusters which in the understanding of CASAS as first, second or third language speakers about 85 percent of Africans enjoy currency with, CASAS has been able so far to harmonise Sotho/Tswana (siLozi, seTswana, siPedi, seSotho), Nguni (siSwati, isiZulu, isiXhosa, siNdebele), Runyakitara (Runyoro-Rutoro, Runyankore-Rukiga and other varieties include Ruhaya, Runyambo and Rukerewe [Northern Tanzania] and Ruhema and Ruhuma [Democratic Republic of Congo]), Eastern Interlacustrine Bantu Languages (Luganda, Lusoga, Lumasaaba, Lusaamia, Lunyole and Lulamogi) and Mandeng (Bambara, Dyula, Kassonke, Bamanan, Mandinka, Maninka). These are all languages which are spoken as first, second or third languages by about 50 000 million people, in each instance. The Luo cluster (Acholi, Dholuo, Dhopadhola, Lang'o) has been partly harmonised. We still have to see if the orthographic solutions we have found for them can also cover Shilluk, Anyuak, Jur, Pari and Lokoro. Work in this respect will start in the first week of June 2008 in Juba, South Sudan. KiSwahili stands well and does not need harmonisation. These are what I call demographically "first order languages".

We have been able also to harmonise smaller clusters (second order languages) like Gur (Gurene, Kabyè, Koulango, Lokpa, Moore, nCam, Sénoufo and Tem), Akan (Fanti, Ashanti, Akim, Akuapim, Kwawu, Brong, Baule and Agni), Gbe (Ajá, Ewe, Fon, Gain, Phelé), Venda, Shangaan (xiTsonga/xiChangana), the Shona and related

speechforms (*Western Shona*: Lilima/Kalanga, Nambya; *Eastern Shona*: Hwesa, Barwe, Manyika, Nda, Nyai; *Central Shona*: Karanga, Korekore, Zezuru), Namibian Bantu languages, the Western Khoekhoe and San languages, Ateso/ Karimojong cluster. The South Central African languages, including the cross-border languages of Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia have for the greatest part been harmonised. These include languages such as ciNyanja/ciCewa, ciNsenga/ciNgoni/ ciNsenga, eLomwe, eMakhuwa, ciYao, ciTumbuka/ciSenga, iciBemba, kiKaonde, ciLunda and Luvale, and related dialects. They now have a single spelling system, rather than three or more spelling systems within the same languages.

More recently, CASAS has been able to bring almost to a conclusion the harmonisation of the languages of Namibia and the cross-border languages (Angola, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa). Two groups of languages have been harmonised. They are the Bantu languages and the Khoekhoe and San languages. The Bantu languages include, Oshiwambo, Rukwangali, Rumanyo, Thimbukushu, Oshiherero, Diriku, Few, Kwambi, Kwanyama, Lozi, Mashi, Mbalanhu, Ndonga, Subiya, Totela, Tswana and Yeyi. The Khoekhoe and San languages include Khoekhoegowab, Khwedam, Ju!'hoansi, Damara. This work has and is being done by a continental network of African mother tongue linguists, professors and lecturers.

Harmonization work is supposed to begin in the Southern Congo DRC. Furthermore, CASAS is currently engaged at various stages in the production of primary school graders for all levels of primary education in Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. For these three countries, indeed, the work is almost completed. What is remarkable is that the governments in all three countries are entering into agreements with CASAS for the production of primary school books for all grades. This augurs well for the introduction of teaching and reading materials based on the newly developed orthographies.

Closing Remarks

It is my conviction that Africa will not develop unless we teach our youngsters in a language they understand and their teachers command well. It is for us Africans to continue this struggle, but we need international experts who share our views and can participate in the struggle with us. They need to engage in research together with us and also to influence the international donor community. I have over the years regarded Prof. Brock-Utne as a comrade-in-arms in this struggle to locate African languages appropriately in African education. She has been a valiant, undaunted, unflinching and determined fighter for the cause. I am sure she will continue the struggle together with us as an independent academic, writer and consultant and that her contribution and her advocacy will live long after her.

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MY JOURNEY TO AND THROUGH A MULTILINGUAL LANDSCAPE

By Adama Ouane

Introduction

This is a short recursive reflection on my experience from the multilingual settings which I move across and handle in my way as have done millions of Africans confronted with a multiplicity of languages in their daily life. It means managing language diversity in a complex social fabric which was rendered yet more complicated with the exoglossy created by the colonial context. It added not only a worldwide dominant language to the landscape, but also introduced its monolingual ethos and lens as interpretative tool and its one – to – one contrastive approaches as model of language teaching and learning.

The article reviews the multilingual ethos in the light of my journey reflecting quest and search for self-preservation of cultural identity and participation with ease and confidence in the communication sphere filtered by power relationship, status claim, freedom and individual pride.

I am making several assumptions digging from my own itinerary as a practised multilingualist puzzled by the limits of current bilingual education approaches to result into multilingual practices. The natural acquisition of several languages is here contrasted with the prevailing methodologies of language teaching, especially bilingual education, with mitigated results in terms of language mastery.

What Is Multilingualism?

Multilingualism is a characteristic of humankind which is created and recreated through its diversity (Fishman 1978). Multilingualism usually refers to individuals, but also to a social group and ultimately to a nation in its broader sense.

What is the relationship of multilingualism to bilingualism, or trilingualism or plurilingualism? Many definitions assume that when we talk about bilingualism, we also talk about multilingualism and that multilingualism means everything that is “more than one language”. Other definitions posit multilingualism as a relational notion going beyond two languages or involving several binary constellations of different languages in contact, relation or conflict within the same geographical or social space.

Multilingualism is more than plurilingualism which is more than trilingualism and bilingualism. Multilingualism is not multidialectism, many varieties of the same languages. It is not the problem of two or three languages existing side by side, it is that so many languages, in some case, over 100 and up to 410 in the case of Nigeria, exist and are used in one way or another within the same country, the same sub-national setting.

Thus, the definition and understanding of what “multi”lingualism is depends very much on the kind of linguistic diversity of the social environment that is at stake. According to the Indian linguist Pattanayak (2003: 57):

a multilingual identity extends from the language of intimacy through the language of proximity to languages of regional, national and international identification. As the layers are peeled off, a complex network of relations can be observed. In this scenario each language is representative of an overarching culture

In some places in Africa or India, for example, a child can grow up with up to six languages at the same time. Each of these languages represents a different part of the culture of these countries. Cultural identity has several markers at various levels from local to community, national and even international. Each layer could be reflected or carried by a language in the multilingual set-up.

Each subject's relation to and handling of prevailing multilingualism is influenced by the position of his or her first language of socialisation within the constellation of languages forging national and cultural identity. The minority language groups tend to be more multilingual as they need to master various other languages to be able to function properly and autonomously in the society and to ascertain their cultural identity as element of the overall national identity. In Africa, such groups may account for anything between 40 and 60 per cent of the national population and even more reaching 90 per cent in Nigeria the most populous African country.

My own country, Mali, illustrates what could be termed moderate multilingualism with some 12 languages. Among these languages are two international languages, Arabic and French, which are both naturalised and reflect two strong moments of political and cultural transformation and external domination. The distribution of isoglosses and the languages in use and in contact have undergone fluctuations and change.

Thus, in multilingual societies different languages and specific variations of these are used for different purposes marking different elements of the socio-cultural identity. Consequently, the kinds of languages that are chosen in any social encounter are socially meaningful.

The specificity of the African Multilingualism

Individual and national multilingualism are the norms in Africa. African languages dominate the linguistic profile of individuals and the societies' "de facto" multilingualism (e.g. Wolff 2006). The African multilingualism has several distinctive features.

It is rooted, all-pervasive, functionally distributed, respective of communicative needs. The communicative universe is shared by many languages. People are living their multilingualism on a daily basis. Language acquisition and the formation of the multilingualism are graded according to the need and demand for communication with other speech communities. All-pervasive means that it concerns almost all and it marks all activities and compels individuals to adjust to it. This leads to natural acquisition and mastery of several languages for a communication continuum or the bridging between speech communities.

To function adequately in such multilingual set-ups, there is a need to go beyond one's own speech community, to interact with other language groups and to be able to carry out survival transactions in other languages. There is a tacit recognition of language gradation in function of communicative needs. The communication need is acting as the ethnic marker that neutralised the ethnical aspects of the languages. Languages are assessed on the basis of their intrinsic utility to serve inter-comprehension.

The following extract from a language portrayal of Angelika Tjoutuku, a Namibian teacher, reflects the journey many African children go through and mirrors the broad variety of languages that matter in different ways in the lives of people in African countries. In her portrayal colours and body parts are organic and reflect the value she attaches to each language:

Yellow, i.e. gold, is Otijherero, my precious language, the language of my heart. Red is Afrikaans, my second best language, the one that was imposed on me. English is green, it is my third best language, the language that opens many doors for me – my key to greener pastures. Yellow and green are for my stomach, for knowledge and communication. Purple stands for Oshivambo and brown for other African languages, blue is for German. These three colours refer to languages which I use in communication here and there (Busch 2006: 10).

My personal journey followed a similar itinerary with the same patterns of interaction and the same natural acquisition of languages governed by the communicative needs and the desire to overcome barriers to free flow of essential transactions required for community life. In Bandiagara, where I first grew up as a child, the Pullo the (speaker of Fulfulde or Fulani language) were not compelled to learn Dogon, a dominant local language in Bandiagara, because Fulfulde was a lingua franca for

the community life between Fulbe and Dogon. The situation was different in Bobo Dioulasso (Burkina Faso) where I grew up later and was compelled to master Bomu, a minority language dominant in the neighbourhood or Dioula (a dialect of the broad Mandingo group to which belongs also Bamanan) the local lingua franca.

In the various contexts I had during my childhood, three layers of language mastery were needed, sometimes more, to reach the national and international levels and the languages representing them, namely Bamanan⁴⁹ and French both in the case of Mali and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). Languages such as Fulfulde or Soninke were used in the intermediate strata as languages of interface. For instance, in the Dogon areas in Mali, the Fulfulde language was used in this function of interface and bridge with other speech communities and in order to access to larger communication function and participation into larger language-based or induced transaction. The same rationale explained why in all these areas, Bamanan is now taking over this function earlier played by Fulfulde as language of wider communication in Mali shortening the access of these groups to national level communication.

A corner stone in my language build-up was the place occupied by Fulfulde which was widespread in Bandiagara (Mali), but just in the family compound in Bobo Dioulasso (Burkina Faso). All the family interactions were held in Fulfulde by all family members although all have grown up multilingual. This marker of identity opened the way to the acquisition of other languages as functional devices and complements, leading to the formation of the multiple identities consolidated by the multilingualism.

The importance of other languages was well perceived and rightly appreciated including the conflicting dimensions, the power relations. Bamanan in Mali and Julia (its dialect in Burkina Faso) were mastered at mother – tongue level as switcher to a broader community and identity, but still subsidiary when it came to appreciation and determination of what is deep identity and its main marker.

The same distance was established between the mother tongue, the national language of wider communication and the international language of wider communication. The continuous immersion in these languages and communication switch from one to the other commanded by the need to express, or the demand for a transaction to be governed by one of them, is a key to the formation and maintenance of multilingualism.

⁴⁹ The language is called Bamanan and the ethnic group Bamana. The language was called Bambara by the French. That is also what it is called in the article by Ingse Skattum.

Characteristics and Features of a Multilingual Ethos

Research and practice show that a precondition for imagining and accepting different kinds of “lingualisms” is often a matter of experience which allows a human being to “picture it”. All individuals living in multilingual contexts face the presence of multiple languages and the need to manage the interaction between many languages and speech communities.

Therefore, the multilingual ethos refuses to see and interpret linguistic issues through the lens of one language, singling it out of the language constellations. It posits that monolingualism is an exception, and multilingualism is the normality of all societies. It claims that multilingualism is not the juxtaposition or additive of many individual languages, but a composite state resulting from the interaction of a given number of languages within a common space.

The multilingual ethos advocates for the acceptance and recognition of linguistic diversity in order to ensure social cohesion and avoid the disintegration of societies (Pattanayak 2003, Baker 2006, Jessner 2008). The multilingual ethos values societal and individual multilingualism as a resource, and hence, accepts the diversity and dismisses the idea that all languages need to be mastered perfectly and equally. There is no deficiency in not mastering every language equally in reading, writing, speaking and listening because the communicative practices in which they are used differ (Pattanayak 2003). The multilingual ethos stresses the commonalities and the complementariness of languages, and heteroglossia not only *across* but also *within* communities and within a given situation. Therefore, language learning is instrumental and integrative in a multilingual context. From this perspective, language ownership or fixed language boundaries cannot be claimed by any social group (Busch 2006, Jessner 2008).

Multilingualism is a new state. Like in all cases of cross-fertilisation, the new entity, the new phenomenon is more than the sum of its supposedly constituting elements.

As a multilingual individual, I live a multilingual ethos. It is not possible to take multilingualism away from my identity formation, my development as a human and social being. Multilingualism is a feature that is part of my personal language development as is the case for all individuals forged in the socio- and psycholinguistic mould I went through. Multilingualism is intrinsic to my language acquisition with two to three languages learnt concomitantly. These languages are deeply rooted and all-pervasive. Subsequent learning was done and strengthened through this solid and fruitful ground. A distinction has indeed to be made between language acquisition and learning. The former is a natural process flowing freely without noticeable efforts to invest and is linked to the development of the human being; the latter is the further extension of this attribute to learning in general as inherent to human beings.

The dynamic view of multilingualism as defined by Jessner (2008: 95) reflects the multilingual ethos:

A multilingual system is an adaptive complex system which possesses the property of *elasticity*, the ability to adapt to temporary changes in the systems environment, and *plasticity*, the ability to develop new systems properties in response to altered conditions.

Western Theories of Bilingualism Are in the Way of Understanding True Multilingualism

As an experienced language learner and “multilingualist”, I question the suitability of current approaches of language learning to serve multilingual settings. The official monolingualism and the regulated binary bilingualisms are undermining the ground for the spread of multilingualism. Linguists and specialists promoting multilingual education have so far failed to construct more suitable approaches of language learning and teaching building on and resulting into practices of multilingualism.

Western theories of bilingualism which are influenced by the monolingual, compartmentalising habitus are in the way of understanding the multilingual habitus such as the one in African everyday life. This is a view-point brought forward in several of the chapters in a book on Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation. (Brock-Utne and Hopson 2005). The monolingual habitus does not take into account the intermeshing of languages within multilinguals and in communities, across social domains and communicative practices. Language mediation and translation are common communicative bridges of everyday life communication in Africa which are, for example, not supported through the education system. The monolingual paradigm influences language and other subject matter tests by making no difference between monolinguals and multilinguals whose language proficiencies often differ from one language to another.

Bilingualism theories of transfer that are guided by the monolingual paradigm develop teaching methodologies and curricula that keep languages apart and stipulate that second language teaching should be conducted exclusively in the target language (Cummins 2008). The transfer of such strategies to contexts where people are living and enjoying multilingualism is leading to a dead end and inhibiting its further expansion. Such instructional approaches for second language teaching, disregard prior learning which is encoded in L1, Lx (Cummins 2008). These languages shape and are activated when learning the next language. As a strategy to support multilingual children, Brock-Utne and Alidou (2006) suggest allowing children “to answer exam questions in the language they feel most comfortable in” (2006: 117).

Contrary to traditional Contrastive Analysis, the current insights into multilingualism will reintroduce the prior learned languages to the classroom without fearing any

negative interferences, but rather expecting the opposite; synergies and cross-fertilisation of languages which are a feature of “true” multilingualism. Research on students in bilingual and immersion programmes and their language awareness shows that these students constantly compare the similarities and differences of the two languages. Thus, part of “true” multilingualism is a high metalinguistic awareness. Researchers (Jessner 2008, Cummins 2008) recommend, therefore, promoting the learning of language awareness in the classroom as well as awareness of language learning strategies.

The natural language acquisition that is concomitant and resting on a constant interplay of languages is additive and integrative. It operates on the basis of functional and complementary distribution of the languages for a single communicative purpose, though with various facets of expression. The full understanding and mastery of these processes is yet to be achieved in order to be translated into pedagogical learning tools.

The challenge is to rediscover from inside the multilingual ethos and through its practice how people acquire concomitantly with ease a state of multilingualism. Personal predispositions, environments conducive to learning, pride for cultural identity, linguistic loyalty and openness could all facilitate language learning.

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FRENCH OR NATIONAL LANGUAGES AS MEANS OF INSTRUCTION?

REFLECTIONS ON FRENCH DOMINATION AND POSSIBLE FUTURE CHANGES

By Ingse Skattum

Introduction

There are 17 countries south of the Sahara which have French as official language,⁵⁰ the francophone countries representing around 20 percent of the continent's population⁵¹. In six of the so-called francophone countries, French shares its official position with one or two other languages.⁵²

The term francophone is useful on the international scene to distinguish these countries from those who have English, Portuguese, or Arabic as official languages. For colonial powers have left their traces on administration, politics, jurisdiction, education, literature and other domains. However, the continent is not English-, French- or Portuguese-speaking.⁵³ The European languages are very seldom anybody's mother tongue or first language (L1). Africans speak one or several of their around 2000 African languages, very often a local and a regional language, plus a European language if they have been to school or have been in touch with Western people.

This sociolinguistic situation, where the language of instruction is an imported language spoken by a minority of the people, is, in the so-called francophone Africa, essentially a result of French and Belgian colonisation. It is, however, impossible to generalise and include all these countries in a common description.

In the following, I will therefore briefly present some similarities and differences between the francophone countries, beginning with the difference between France and Belgium

⁵⁰ These 17 countries are: 8 countries in West Africa: Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo; 8 countries in Central Africa: Burundi, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Congo (also called Congo-Brazzaville, after the capital), Democratic Republic of Congo (DR Congo, also called Congo-Kinshasa, ex-Zaire), Gabon, Rwanda and Tchad); plus the small francophone state on the Horn of Africa, Djibouti. I'm confining myself to the African continent in this article and will not comment on the situation in the countries of the Indian Ocean.

⁵¹ Around 40 percent of Africans live in countries where English holds this role, 20 percent in countries with Arabic and 4 percent in countries with Portuguese as official languages (1995 figures, Manning 1998: 1).

⁵² Burundi (French and Kirundi), Cameroon (French and English), Central African Republic (French and Sango), Djibouti (French and Arabic), Rwanda (French, Kinyarwanda and English), Tchad (French and Arabic).

⁵³ It is, however, Arabic-speaking, not only in North-Africa, but also in some Sub-Saharan countries. On the other hand, the language of instruction is classical Arabic, which is very different from the spoken dialects and consequently difficult for the children.

as colonial powers with respect to their linguistic and educational policies. I go on to describe a common trait of today, *diglossia*, i.e. the difference in prestige and usage between French and the national languages, but also between the different African languages. I then look at differentiating factors today, ending by some reflections on the future roles for French and national languages as means of instruction.

Linguistic and Educational Policies under French and Belgian Colonisation

France and Belgium practised very different linguistic and educational policies in their colonies.

The French advocated a policy of *assimilation* to the French civilisation and language. The Governor General of French West Africa thus wrote in 1897:

Education is indeed the best way for a nation with a civilizing mission to ensure that they, as yet primitive peoples should acquire its ideas and be gradually elevated to itself. Education is, in one word, the foremost instrument of progress. It is also the Government's surest means of propaganda for its cause and for the French language (cited in Skattum 2006:174, author's translation).

Belgium, on the other hand, more or less involuntarily found itself administering the immense Congo Free State after king Leopold II's scandalous treatment of his private colony. After the First World War the country was also given the German colony of Ruanda – Urundi as a mandate. The burden of education may have seemed too much for the Belgians, who passed it on to the missionaries. As many of them preferred spreading God's word in African languages, they contributed to the development of some important African languages. But they also installed a segregational educational system, as French instruction was given only to those who needed it to work for the colonial administration. At independence, the Belgian colonies found themselves practically without an educated francophone elite, a fact with serious political consequences. On the other hand, this left DR Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda with relatively well - developed national languages, at least compared with the earlier French colonies.

Diglossia: A Common Factor Today

Despite the differences between the former French and Belgian colonies, today they share a diglossic situation. This is a hierarchical, functional relationship between languages, characterised as *high* and *low* (Fishman 1967). French is everywhere the so-called "high" language, which means it has prestige and is used for formal functions (government, parliament, public service, education, the media, literature, and often religious service), while the African languages are the so-called "low"

languages with less or no prestige, used for informal, daily functions (family, friends, etc.). This functional difference both stems from and is reflected in people's attitudes, and to a large extent explains why ordinary people as well as government officials harbour negative attitudes towards their own languages – be it as languages of education or written languages in general. The high languages normally dominate the written sphere, while the low languages are mainly used orally. What is special to Africa, is that the high languages are minority languages. The dichotomy majority/minority languages, which is often used in international research as synonymous to dominating/dominated languages, does not fit the African sociolinguistic reality (Skattum 1997). European languages, though they dominate, are minority languages.

Another factor which distinguishes Africa from many other diglossic contexts, is that the high language is an imported language, and thus linguistically and culturally different from indigenous languages. This makes it much more difficult to learn and less apt to express African realities and world-views.

Diglossia in Africa is also more complicated than in many other regions of the world, due to the widespread multilingualism and the hierarchical relationship amongst the African languages themselves. This aspect can best be described as embedded diglossia (*diglossie enchâssée*, Calvet 1999), which means that one diglossic situation is embedded in another. Taking Mali as an example, French and the national languages have a diglossic relationship at a first level. Embedded in this diglossia is the relationship between the majority language Bambara as a high language and the other national languages as low languages. This embedded diglossia in its turn contains another one, as three regional languages, Fulfulde, Songhay and Soninke, function as high languages in their respective regions vis-à-vis the local languages.

This kind of embedded diglossia is common in Africa at a societal level. At the individual level, the speakers of dominant languages tend to be monolingual, or bilingual if they speak the European language, while speakers of minority languages tend to speak two, three, four or even more languages.

Differentiating Factors Today

Despite the common diglossic situation, important differences exist in francophone Africa which make it difficult to predict a common future for French or African languages as means of instruction. I will highlight three of them here: presence/absence of a national majority language; geographical location and degree and duration of contact with Europeans; and, finally, educational and linguistic policies.

Presence/Absence of A National Majority Language

In francophone Africa, the term *indigène* carries negative colonial connotations, so

one does not speak of indigenous languages like in English, but of national languages (*langues nationales*). Usually this term implies a certain status. In most countries it is attributed to a limited number of indigenous languages: 13 amongst 20 or so in Mali, 4 amongst more than 200 in DR Congo, etc. This does not mean they are official languages, but usually that they are codified (have an official alphabet and orthography). Their role varies from a mere symbolic to a limited public role. In some countries the term refers to all indigenous languages without distinction.

The francophone countries may be classified into two main categories according to the existence or absence of a national majority language.

The first type includes the following seven countries: Central African Republic (Sango), Mali (Bambara), Niger (Hausa), Senegal (Wolof), Burundi (Kirundi) and Rwanda (Kinyarwanda). The latter two are the linguistically most homogenous states. Djibouti which has two main languages (Afar in the North and West, Somali in the South and East) can also be associated with this type.

In these countries, the majority language serves as the main interethnic means of communication, confining French to the formal sphere. It follows that French does not get the chance to develop into a vernacular, *i.e.*, it does not become anybody's mother tongue. The general level of French competence is low, as children don't get to practice French outside of school.

Ten countries belong to the second type: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, DR Congo, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Tchad and Togo. In these countries, French has a better chance of becoming a *lingua franca* and even an L1. But even in this category of countries, regional languages may bar the way to French. This is the case for instance for Togo, Benin and RD Congo. The Ivory Coast is so far the only country where French has become the most dominating *lingua franca* and even an L1 for many people, especially the urban population.

Geographical Location and Degree and Duration of Contact with Europeans

Another differential factor is the geographical location of the country. Europeans first settled along the coast, and a table of the estimated proportion of francophones (*Atlas de la langue française*, 1995, cited in Skattum 2006: 214) shows that the percentage is higher along the coast where the contact has lasted longer and usually been more intense. The percentages of "francophones" mentioned below are defined according to the level of schooling: six years make you a "real" speaker, and two years, a "potential" speaker. The reason is that it is difficult to ascertain linguistic competence otherwise. This way of classifying linguistic competence gives, however, overly optimistic figures, for after two years in school, a child hardly speaks French. Even the number of "real" speakers is probably too high, for the competence is often

low also after 6 years. Besides, without practice, children tend to forget what they have learnt. So even the percentage of “real” speakers, which ranges from 2 per cent to 44 per cent, is likely to be too high.

In terms of total number of francophones, based on the definition given above, the coastal states are in the lead: Gabon (63%), Congo (59%), Ivory Coast (48%), Cameroon (40%), Togo (36%), and Benin (25%).

Europeans penetrated later into the interior, and people there are generally more attached to their own ways of life, including their languages. So landlocked countries have lower figures of francophones: Central African Republic (24%), Rwanda (22%), Tchad (20%), Burkina Faso (15%), Burundi (15%), Niger (11%), Mali (10%) (*Atlas de la langue française*, 1995, cited in Skattum 2006: 214).

While most of these figures are over-optimistic, the Ivory Coast, on the other hand, probably has more francophone speakers than indicated. This country is an exception in that people here pick up French in the street – which the criterion of schooling does not take into account. Urbanisation indeed speeds up the process. Gabon, for instance, which according to the *Atlas de la langue française*, is the most francophone of the African countries, is said to be exceptionnally urbanised: nearly 70% (Skattum 2006: 215).

Educational and Linguistic Policies

Educational policies of course play a crucial role for the choice of medium of instruction. But educational policies in their turn depend on historical, cultural, religious, economic and political factors.

The Sahel countries, for instance, have low figures of francophones also because they have a strong Muslim population with preference for Qu’ranic schools and traditional transfer of knowledge (Dumestre 2000). These countries also have nomadic populations who for practical reasons do not send their children to school. Christian missionary schools laid the ground for more extensive schooling. In Cameroon, for instance, which has one of the highest rates of schooling (70% on average), the rate is 90 percent in the Christian dominated South and much less in the Muslim dominated north. The short German colonisation in Togo has also left a trace, since the Protestant missionaries gave preference to African languages, which explains the development of written Ewe (Robillard and Beniamino 1993 - 96).

In the following, I will reflect on language policies through the examples of six countries: Mali, DR Congo, Senegal, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, and Guinea.

Mali is the country which has furnished the most consistent efforts in giving their national languages more than a symbolic role. Of their approximately 20 languages, 13 have received this status.⁵⁴ The Constitution explicitly puts them on

⁵⁴ Bambara, Bomu, Bozo, Dogon, Fulfulde, Hassaniyya, Malinké, Mamara, Soninké, Songhay, Syenara,

an equal footing, despite Bambara's dominating role (Skattum 2008). After a period of experimentation from 1979, the government in 1994 decided to introduce and gradually generalise a bilingual programme called Convergent Pedagogy (Skattum 2000). By 2006, more than 30 percent of the schools had adopted the programme, which concerned 2550 schools, and 11 of the 13 national languages (Traoré 2009). In these schools, French and a national language are taught in grades 1-6.⁵⁵ In 2007, a department of linguistics was created at the University of Bamako. It was meant also to teach national languages, but these courses have as yet (November 2008) not started. Nor are national languages used as means or subject in secondary school, and teachers' colleges still give no instruction in mother tongue didactics nor any linguistic training in the structure of the national languages that are to be taught. So despite Mali's unique position in francophone Africa, political will to go forward seems to be insufficient.

The neighbouring country **Senegal**, which like Mali has an African majority language (Wolof), lags far behind Mali when it comes to national language teaching in primary school. Senegal has around 25 languages, of which 6 were selected as national languages⁵⁶ in 1971. In 2001 the Constitution opened for any language that was codified to become a national language, and many have entered the ranks since (McLaughlin 2008: 84, 86). But Senegal does not use them as means of instruction except in a few pilot schools and in some literacy programmes (*ibid.*) However, unlike in Mali, some of them are taught at university level. Despite this positive fact and the legal opening to more national languages, Senegal seems unlikely to introduce national languages as means of instruction for the time being. Wolof is spoken by around 90 percent of the population, and its continued progress has given rise to some hostile reactions. When President Wade in 2000, shortly after coming in office, suggested that all civil servants be required to know how to read and write in Wolof, there were vigorous protests in the National Assembly from minority language speakers who feared further Wolofization (*op.cit.*: 86 - 87).

If we turn to the former Belgian colonies, we will see that **DR Congo** is one of the most multilingual states on the continent with an estimated 214 living indigenous languages (Bokamba 2008). At independence, the country chose to give 4 of them status as national languages.⁵⁷ While French was imposed as the exclusive means of instruction in government schools, these 4 languages along with some others were – and still are – used as means of instruction in the first two years in the publically subsidised schools, and are taught as “obligatory subjects in primary and secondary schools in their respective regions of dominance” (*op.cit.*: 220). So we see that though the strong position held by national languages during colonisation is weakened, DR Congo still gives them a stronger status than do the two former French colonies mentioned above.

Tamachek and Xassonke.

⁵⁵ The quality of this method has been strongly criticized by Maurer 2007.

⁵⁶ Joola, Malinke, Pulaar, Seereer, Soninke, and Wolof.

⁵⁷ Kikongo, Kiswahili, Lingala, and Tshiluba.

Some countries do not interpret the term “national languages” in the way these countries do, but use it to refer to *all* their languages. These are extremely multilingual countries, where French stands strongly. Cameroon has over 250 languages (Bilola and Echu 2008). With approximately 16 million inhabitants, this gives one of the highest language-to-population ratios in Africa. The number of languages of wider communication is also high: eleven indigenous languages plus Cameroon Pidgin English. The term “national languages” was adopted in 1974 to refer to all of the indigenous languages, according to Cameroon researchers because of “the fear of creating a situation of language conflict by designating only certain languages as national languages” (*op. cit.*: 203). It was only in the 1996 Constitution that the need to protect and promote the national languages was mentioned (*ibid.*). This might be a small sign that there is an awakening to the role of African languages. However, till this day a political and cultural conflict between the English- and French-speaking communities has overshadowed any role that the national languages might play, and it seems highly unlikely that they will become means of instruction in a foreseeable future.

The Ivory Coast Constitution of 2000 also refers to national languages without naming any languages in particular. Of the estimated 60 languages, 4 do however play a more prominent role,⁵⁸ exceeding their regional context, and one of these, Diula, competes with French as a national *lingua franca*. Though these languages are the object of domestic research, none are used as media of instruction, and French remains the exclusive language of education (Knutsen 2008). With French gaining ground as a mother tongue, a change in educational policies in favour of African languages seems unlikely.

Some countries have already experimented with national language teaching and abandoned it. Guinea had a try at bilingual education in a 15-years period from 1968 to 1984. They introduced 8 national languages as a subject from primary to higher education and progressively as means of instruction in primary and secondary school. By 1984, at the death of President Sékou Touré, the national languages were used as means of instruction up to the second year of secondary school. But the reform became unpopular because it was ill prepared, so after the president’s death French was reintroduced (Robillard and Beniamino 1993 - 96). Considering the country’s unfortunate experience as well as its present political predicament, it seems unlikely that Guinea for the moment will try to reintroduce national language teaching.

What Will the Future Hold?

Amongst the five francophone countries mentioned above, only Mali and RD Congo seem to encourage teaching in national languages – at a modest scale.

⁵⁸ Baule, Diula, Bete and Senofo.

What will it take to change attitudes amongst leaders as well as the people? Will French continue to dominate as language of instruction in this part of the world? Do national languages stand any chance of taking over? Or will English pave its way here as elsewhere as the world's only global language?

With reference to the examples described above, let me suggest some possible future scenarios.

First of all, French seems likely to continue for a long time to dominate as language of instruction despite the differing sociolinguistic contexts.

This is in particular the case for countries without an African majority language at the national level (Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Guinea), but also goes for many countries where such a language exists (Senegal). Even the former Belgian colony RD Congo has adopted French as the main language of instruction. Mali has so far been an exception, but political will seems rather weak at the moment. If a vernacular form of French were to develop in the big cities (which is a trend), then chances are that French will strengthen its position as means of instruction. Though so far only the Ivory Coast has developed a vernacular form of French that might take over as a norm, the growing urbanisation of the continent could further develop this.

On the other hand, the African national languages seem to make some progress in legal recognition and consideration. Though Mali is the only country to have introduced a nation-wide bilingual programme for instruction in French and national languages, Senegal has lately given the status of national language to all codified languages, and Cameroon in its 1996 constitution mentions the need to promote them. The yearly survey published by the official organ *La Documentation Française*, in 2001 states that it becomes "more and more clear that these [the sub-Saharan francophone] countries want to introduce or develop the teaching of and in their national languages" (cited in Skattum 2006: 219, author's translation).

Another token is the fact that a written corpus in national languages is slowly emerging. (Writing in vernaculars has been much more restricted in francophone than in anglophone countries.) Some authors are at last beginning to write fiction in national languages. Also, the informal nature of SMS messages, e-mails and chatting seems to have lowered the threshold for ordinary people to write in national languages or in a hybrid code of French/vernaculars.

On the other hand, the experience from Guinea shows that for the national languages to succeed as means of instruction, their introduction needs to be well prepared, with good teacher training, enough didactic material, and sensitisation of parents and teachers, as well as linguistic research to develop standard languages. At the moment, such efforts are limited.

A last possibility to be mentioned is that English may one day supplant French as a means of instruction and communication with the West. There is a growing interest

amongst francophone Africans to learn English both at the university and in private language courses. English can get you jobs with the NGOs or in international organisations like the African Union, the United Nations system or the Bretton Woods institutions. Added to this are the difficulties in getting a visa to France or Belgium, prompting Africans to emigrate to the US or Canada.

The last fact may be one of the reasons that the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF) has introduced the concept of “language partnership” (*partenariat des langues*) with African languages. OIF has 55 member states and governments and can in some ways be compared to the British Commonwealth. Though this partnership may just be another strategy to stop the “Americanisation of the globe”, serving French interests, it does at the same time sustain African languages, and helps other languages resist English domination. For though English is undoubtedly useful as a world-wide *lingua franca*, it threatens to diminish the world’s linguistic diversity, and hence, its cultural diversity and identity.

This is felt even in Norway which though it has fought hard to develop two written Norwegian standards, experiences growing pressure to teach, publish and work in English.⁵⁹

As this survey of francophone Africa has shown, it is not always clear who decides on the language(s) of instruction. Many factors play a role: the historical context, today’s sociolinguistic situation, the educational and linguistic policies of the nation, and people’s attitudes. But it does seem that without the authorities’ political will to promote national languages, attitudes will not change. People will continue to view European languages as superior to their own, and will resent the introduction of national languages into their educational systems.

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THE START AND PROGRESS OF A LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION RESEARCH PROJECT IN AFRICA – THE SPIRIT OF BAGAMOYO⁶⁰

Harold D. Herman

The journey towards knowledge is through its language. Language is vital in the study of endogenous knowledge and the teaching thereof. Unless endogenous languages are central to research and teaching, public speech and broadcasting, much of what is supposed to be developed will be lost before it is captured.

Ntsoane (2005:1)

An introductory Tribute

In 1999 Prof. Birgit Brock-Utne and I met during a Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference in the U.S.A. to consider the possibility of a North-South cooperation on language of instruction policies in Africa. In our years of dialogue and presentations at international conferences, it was clear to me that Birgit, although Norwegian, was an African scholar at heart, a person with a flair and commitment to confront the multiple dilemmas facing the African continent. She was passionate about Tanzania, where she had taught and soon mastered Kiswahili. She had discussed the possibility of launching a research project on the language of instruction in Tanzania with colleagues at the University of Dar es Salaam, especially with Prof. Suleman Sumra. Together Birgit and I now conceptualised a language in education project between the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Oslo and the University of the Western Cape.

Later the same year Birgit gave a key-note address on Education for All – in Whose Language? at the Oxford Conference (Brock-Utne, 2001) and there met Zubeida Desai, now the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Cape, who also presented a paper on the language issue in Africa – exemplified by the situation in the Western Cape. The two of them continued the discussion Birgit and I had started about a research cooperation around the language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa.

⁶⁰ This article is an abridged version of a paper with the same name presented at the LOITASA Workshop in Oslo on the 1st May 2008 preceding the IMPLAN Conference and will be published as a chapter in: Qorro, Martha, Zubeida Desai and Birgit Brock-Utne (ed) 2009. *LOITASA reflecting on Phase I and entering Phase II*. Dar es Salaam: E & D Vision Publishing Ltd.

The Success of LOITASA

I would, in this article, first like to expand on my chosen topic “The Spirit of Bagamoyo and the significance of African research projects such as LOITASA”. To me LOITASA has been a great success in Phase I, and we hope that it will be an even greater success in Phase II. I have participated in many funded projects in my long academic career in education. However, many of them have had limited success, because they have failed to lead to significant improvement of education at its most basic levels. I wish to mention two reasons why I think that LOITASA has been a success.

Firstly, international funders tend to often set conditionalities for the projects they fund, which are not necessarily related to the needs of the recipient countries. I wish to express our gratitude to NORAD and NUFU, our Norwegian funders, for their generosity and genuine concern for Africa. They have been loyal supporters of African development as far back as the Nyerere era of Education for Self-Reliance. They showed their true commitment to the empowerment of African academics by making LOITASA a South-South-North project, where African scholars could play the leading role in the development of educational policy research in their own countries, in our case Tanzania and South Africa. If one reads the four LOITASA books (Brock-Utne et al 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006) analytically, one realises that they reflect the true, authentic voices of Africa and the language needs of its peoples.

Secondly, our gratitude to our funders, not just for funding the LOITASA project for a second phase, but for allowing real Africanists to direct and own the project. International donors often insist on Ivy League and Oxbridge types of scholars to lead projects without considering whether they are at heart part of the struggle for African scholarship. We have been privileged to have Birgit and her team, as passionate African researchers, participating in the LOITASA project. I want to pay a special tribute to Birgit, a remarkable woman of unlimited academic energy in our world of comparativists in education. As a seasoned international traveller and conference attendee, I admire her passion for Africa, particularly Tanzania. The American Indians had a saying that you should not judge a person until you have walked many miles in his or her moccasins. Well, Birgit did just that in Tanzania. She learnt Kiswahili while teaching there for a number of years, and championed the cause of the indigenous people. Of course, in pursuing these goals in Africa, there are many criticisms and stumbling blocks, but Birgit persevered in the struggle for the oppressed, often contrary to the instincts of African elites. It is in this mode, that LOITASA was developed in what I call the “Spirit of Bagamoyo”.

In January 2000, Birgit, our Tanzanian colleagues and I, planned a meeting in Bagamoyo, north of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania to discuss a possible project together.

Birgit had been able to secure some initial planning money from NUFU – the Norwegian organisation responsible for research cooperation between the Norwegian universities and the universities in developing countries. We all proceeded by bus on a bumpy road to Bagamoyo, an historical place in Tanzania, Birgit, her Head of Department, Knut Tveit, Mwajabu Possi, Justinian Galabawa and Suleman Sumra from Dar, and Zubeida Desai, Vuyokazi Nomlomo and myself as the UWC. team. There the Spirit of Bagamoyo was born, a spirit which resulted in the LOITASA project.

Thank you Birgit for your massive contribution to the creation of that spirit. When I reviewed the book *Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind* (Brock-Utne 2000) for the *International Review of Education* (Herman 2002), I expressed my views on your passion and commitment to African scholarship. We are both supposed to retire from our universities this year, but of course in reality we just change our job descriptions a bit, the struggle for Norwegian, Tanzanian, South African education and Africa-at-large will continue and we shall be part of it. May Birgit be blessed to have many more productive years as a scholar, a colleague and a friend. Aluta continua!

The LOITASA challenge

As one of the early participants in the conceptualisation of the LOITASA project, I was convinced that the project research would make a valuable contribution to the understanding, strengths and limitations of language of instruction (LOI) in Tanzania and South Africa.. As a comparativist and sociologist in education in South Africa, I was mindful of the huge barriers erected before and since Uhuru, by colonial language imperialism, modernisation, neo-colonialism, the capitalist created mind-set and more recently economic Globalization. A key goal of this project was to contest the use of foreign languages to advance cultural hegemony in Africa, to conduct empirical research on the use of indigenous languages as language of instruction in school classrooms and contrast these results with those found when the language of instruction was English. The aim was to improve the conceptualisation, learning, reading and writing skills of pupils.

The project has now completed its first five – year cycle. The research will continue in Phase II, but the question of implementation and policy changes in LOI continues to be a daunting reality. The production of the research data, evidence and results would be the easier part. The difficult part would be to convince governments, education departments and parent communities that teaching and learning in African languages rather than English in schools would be advisable. Zubeida Desai (2006: 110) in her reflection on the LOITASA Project in South Africa in LOITASA Book Four, states:

This initiative in the Western Cape has come about through various pressure groups operating at both a technical as well as a political level, for, ultimately, policy decisions are taken at a political level. My involvement at language policy level over a decade and a half has taught me that technical experts can try to influence the process, but their success really depends on the amount of influence they have on the political actors. This is indeed a sobering thought for academics who might think that their research findings are so self-evident that political actors do not need to be persuaded to adopt them.

I believe that a critical, political economy perspective is still the best approach to unpack the LOI conundrum in Africa, but in the implementation of change, an incrementalist approach should be adopted to assert the rightful claim of African languages to be the LOI in schools. At the end of the article I summarize the recent breakthrough in LOI policy of the Western Cape Education Department through its Language-in-Education transformation plan.

The importance of good LOI policies is emphasised by Fafunwa, Prah, Mazrui and Obanya. In a chapter in the first book from the LOITASA Project, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003:94-95) build on these African voices when they state:

- One of the most important factors militating against the dissemination of knowledge and skills, and therefore of rapid social and economic well-being of the majority of people in Africa, is the imposed medium of communication. Fafunwa claims that there seems to be a correlation between underdevelopment and the use of a foreign language as the official language of a given country in Africa.
- Prah asserts that no society in the world has developed in a sustained and democratic fashion on the basis of a borrowed or colonial language and that underdeveloped countries in Africa remain under-developed partly on account of the cultural alienation which is structured in the context of the use of colonial languages.
- Mazrui in 1996 asked the question whether any country can appropriate the first-rank economic development if it relies overwhelmingly on foreign languages for its discourse on development and transformation. Also, whether Africa can effectively "take-off" when it is so tightly held hostage to the languages of the former imperial masters.
- Obanya holds that if the African child's major learning problem is linguistic (which the evidence produced by LOITASA confirms), then all the attention of African policy-makers and aid from Western donors should be devoted to strengthening the African languages as languages of instruction, especially in basic education.

The Education for All Movement (1990, reviewed 2000) and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (2000) set daunting targets for basic education for all and for sustainable development by 2015. Can these targets for education ever be reached if the LOI issues are not resolved?

The LOI Challenges

There are between 1200 and 2500 languages competing with each other for attention in Africa. According to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA, 2005: 1) this is a genuine nightmare for decision-makers. ADEA contends that there is a fear that excessive ethnicisation may result in divided nations and possibly conflicts. Several leading policy-makers in Africa have turned away from the use of their own languages in education systems

to seek salvation, national cohesion, openness to others, and receptiveness to technology in the use of international languages as both official and teaching languages...and educational models are built on this fundamental assumption (Ibid).

The authors of the *ADEA Newsletter* identify three approaches to the use of language of instruction in Africa which are in common use; firstly, the introduction of the international language early in the children's schooling as both a medium and subject of instruction; secondly, the use in some cases of local languages as springboards or bridges and; thirdly, the simultaneous use of the two languages. Approaches that rely on local languages alone, or maintain them as tools and subjects of instruction are rare.

Since the independence of the majority of sub-Saharan African countries in the 1960s, a number of trends emerged in education. Firstly, the education explosion, the establishment and growth of African universities still dominated by expatriate academic staff, progressive socialist policies such as Tanzania's Education for Self-Reliance. There was rapid economic development, industrialisation and urbanisation in many parts of Africa. Apartheid in countries like South Africa and neo-colonialist domination through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund led to the further underdevelopment and the servitude of the African mind (Brock-Utne 2000: 271).

More recently, the preferred donor investment in primary rather than secondary and higher education as prescribed by the World Bank has led to increased poverty, dependence and underdevelopment. There has been an educational backlash resulting from Western neo-conservative New Right policies, structural adjustment policies with less social welfare spending, leading to an education crisis. The phenomenon of economic Globalization with its concomitant imbalances of trade policies favouring the developed nations, the age of technology creating a digital divide, along with the HIV-AIDS pandemic have increased the misery index in Africa.

Educational Relevance, Africanisation and Indigenous Knowledge

The current Language of Instruction debate resonates strongly with earlier debates on progressive change in African education. After the initial cry for educational expansion after *uhuru*, the issue of educational relevance was raised by many African authors. For example, the frog required to be studied and dissected in Kenyan school science textbooks, in the 1960s, was a British species not found in Kenya. This is an example of the irrelevance of some of the “borrowed” knowledge transmitted in schools in the time when I was a science teacher. In the 1970s, there was an increased cry for Africanisation and indigenisation of knowledge to meet the African reality. Language of instruction was of course an aspect of this debate, but the powerful socio-political forces of the time and the increasing crisis of underdevelopment stunted this debate and led to us still asking the same questions in the new millennium.

The four LOITASA books clarify the language issues well, but maybe the project should connect more directly with the recent movement in African academia to open again the debate on indigenous knowledge in schools and higher education.

In 1999, the Flemish University Council published a report on a research project, “Endogenization and African Universities” based on a study by Belgian academics and academics from six African universities in Ghana, Senegal, Uganda, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Flemish University Council 1999). This report’s findings were not characterised by the anticipated strong support for endogenisation in African universities. It concluded that endogenisation is largely a “non-issue” except for a relatively restricted group of ideologues who variously reject or passionately defend the notion. Some of the key reasons for the negative response were the lack of resources at the universities and political restrictions in the way of endogenisation. The LOITASA experience has been similar, and the project should compare its experiences and dilemmas with those of the IKS movement’s discourse and attempts to indigenise higher education curricula.

After the South African President Thabo Mbeki’s declared philosophy of the African Renaissance- a quest for the transformation and Africanisation of South African education, there has been a renewed interest in this topic (see Le Roux 2001, Odora-Hoppers 2001, Higgs and Van Niekerk 2002, Ntshoe 2002, Nel 2005, Ntsoane 2005). A national workshop on indigenous knowledge systems held in South Africa in 1998, set the scene for the introduction of a programme for Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), as a contribution to the African Renaissance. Indigenous or endogenous knowledge refers to knowledge coming from local people themselves, knowledge available in the land, in its history, its culture, its memory, its geography, and its linguistic heritage (Higgs and Van Niekerk 2002). The IKS debate is slowly emerging in South Africa, and LOITASA should try to engage this movement on

LOI's role in the indigenisation of the curriculum, especially science and technology. The IKS movement now has an on-line journal, Indilinga, the *Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems* which could be an avenue also for LOITASA publications.

LOITASA Research Findings to Date and the Way Forward

The four LOITASA books have delivered a wealth of research and new knowledge on LOI in Tanzania and South Africa. Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003: 80), quoting a renowned South African Language in Education analyst Neville Alexander, argue convincingly that the language question is all about power, with the choice of language of instruction in Africa being a political choice, a choice that may redistribute power in a global context as well as within an African country, between the elites and the masses.

Research on LOI policies and strategies to turn the tide in favour of indigenous languages must reckon with the neo-colonial elites, whose knowledge of the conqueror's language provides them with "cultural capital" which keeps them and their off-spring in the privileged middle and upper classes. Therefore, LOITASA apart from providing research evidence to counter the neo-colonialist notions on language of instruction, will have to find ways to break the power of elitist groups who consciously or unconsciously try to maintain the status quo on LOI. A strong advocacy strategy needs to be devised to take the struggle beyond academia to civil society and language policy structures for the lofty goals of LOITASA to be realised. A good example of such a counter-hegemonic advocacy role is that of OXFAM in respect of underdevelopment in the Third World. I would recommend that LOITASA interact with other agencies already operating in Tanzania and South Africa in this regard.

ADEA in its April to June 2005 Newsletter lists the obstacles to the promotion of African languages as follows:

- The absence of appropriate language policies;
- The lack of political will to enforce policy based on the promotion of African languages;
- The lack of sufficient teaching and support literature;
- The absence of adequate training of trainers in the use of African languages in education;
- The absence of an enabling environment for learning (absence of literate people and literature in African languages);
- The low priority given to funding African language development; and
- The absence of standardisation in most of the languages, particularly minority ones.

To overcome these obstacles and the parental mind-set that English is the *sine qua non* for their children's future success in life, will require a massive rallying of forces to provide an alternative to the dominant position of English as LOI in South Africa and Tanzania. LOITASA should really consider an implementation strategy in collaboration with other progressive forces and appropriate statutory structures like the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) in South Africa, ADEA, the African Academy of Languages (the envisaged research institution of the African Union), the IKS Movement and teacher education institutions, just to name a few.

A Special Look at the South African Part of the LOITASA Project

The findings of the Khayelitsha LOI experiments in a South African township context as discussed in the LOITASA book chapters on the topic by Nomlomo (2003, 2004) and Desai (2003, 2004), although provisional, indicate the need for learners to be taught in their mother tongue (as LOI) till at least Grade 7. This in my view seems to be a reasonable and strategically correct proposal in the South African context. In addition, learners need to be exposed to quality English lessons with English taught as a subject by teachers who are proficient in it (Desai, 2003: 62). The current South African language in education policy does allow this, and there should be pressure, based on research findings such as those of the Khayelitsha study, to change the current practice of a Grade 4 switch to English as LOI.

The South African Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the 1997 Language-in-Education policy of the National Department of Education (Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 17997 of 1997) give sufficient space for the revision of the current Language-in-Education policy in favour of additive bilingualism up to at least Grade 7 as suggested in this chapter. In fact, the policy also provides for instruction in African languages beyond Grade 7, even when there are less than 35 learners who wish to be taught in a particular African language (there are 11 official languages).

The Act says:

Section 5.2.4

Where no school in a district offers the desired language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language, and section 5.3.2 must apply. The provincial department must make copies of the request available to all schools in the relevant school district.

Section 5.3.2 states

Where there are less than 40 requests in Grades 1 to 7, or less than 35 requests in Grades 7 to 12 for instruction in a language in a given grade not already offered by a school in a particular school district, the head of

the provincial department of education will determine how the needs of the learners will be met, taking into account- the duty of the state and the right of the learners in terms of the Constitution, including the need to achieve equity; the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices; practicability, and the advice of the governing bodies and principals of the public schools concerned.

Given the current realities in South African schools, and despite the liberal statutory language policies of the country, it may be advisable to insist on mother tongue medium of instruction up to Grade 7 only. My own personal history is a shining example of the success of additive bilingualism up to Grade 7. I grew up in an Afrikaans-speaking semi-rural area near Cape Town and attended Afrikaans-medium missionary primary schools till Grade 7 with English as a second language. I then went to Trafalgar High School in Cape Town, where English was the medium of instruction. I made the transition to English very easily and achieved success in a science degree at UWC, where the medium of instruction in the 1960s was both Afrikaans and English depending on the preferred language medium of the lecturer. When I subsequently went to study in the UK. my fellow teachers in class and my university lecturers would not believe that English was my second language, because of my fluency and writing skills in English.⁶¹

One of my main reasons for not suggesting that additive bilingualism school policies go beyond Grade 7 at this time, is the crisis currently experienced in our secondary schools. Add to that the erosion of the culture of the working class, of teaching and learning in our township schools. Then one hesitates to recommend another major policy shift which could put even more pressure on our embattled teachers in dysfunctional schools.

Kathleen Heugh, a renowned LOI analyst in South Africa, is of the opinion that a language-in-education policy will not succeed unless it is integrated with, and is in synchrony with the national education policy or a new curriculum. This is problematic in South Africa as the curriculum and language policy continue to be dealt with separately (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2003: 84-85). Heugh (1999) in an article on languages, development and reconstruction of education in South Africa shows that the language-in-education policy changes are flawed both in their conceptualisation and implementation strategy, as they do not adequately address the role of African languages. Webb (1999) has a similar view.

The LOI literature shows clearly that the lack of sufficient teaching and support literature and adequate teacher education are real obstacles impeding the switch to

⁶¹ **Editors note:** there is a great difference in becoming fluent in Afrikaans (an Indo-European and high status language in South Africa with a rich literature) and English and becoming fluent in English and isiXhosa (a Bantu and low – status language in South Africa with little literature). In the community Herman grew up though Afrikaans was the most frequently spoken language, English was also a language children heard around them. Not so with the isiXhosa children in Khayalitsha. They hear predominantly isiXhosa around them.

African languages. The LOITASA research of Nomlomo (2004), and Langenhoven (2005), in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, show clearly the existence of these obstacles and how they need to be addressed if the switch to African languages is to be successful. To implement mother-tongue instruction in Science and Geography in the primary school, they had to translate the existing English materials to isiXhosa for the two project schools.. The issue of terminology and schoolbooks in Southern African languages is discussed by Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh (2004). The school textbooks produced in the apartheid era lacked legitimacy. Their publication was halted in 1975. The researchers carefully assessed the development of terminology and the textbooks published. They state:

Thus far, this study has shown that there was indeed considerable work accomplished in the area of terminology development and that despite many of the criticisms about the legitimacy of such work, many scholars of African languages today are of the opinion that whilst mistakes may have been made and there is a need to properly evaluate existing work, much of the criticism was, and continues to be, exaggerated. What the researchers had not expected to find was the range and level of complexity within the content of the textbooks examined. Contrary to expectations, the content of textbooks so far examined does not indicate a cognitive impoverished curriculum for African language speaking children in the primary school years before 1975 (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004: 199)

Langenhoven (2005), in his study on Scientific Literacy in Grade 4 township schools in Cape Town, points out that the numerous demands made on teachers, the lack of teaching resources and insufficient classroom support impede progress in acquiring scientific literacy. If the LOI is to change to African languages (isiXhosa in the Khayelitsha case study), then these limitations will have to be addressed seriously.

Change of LOI Policy in the Western Cape

The declaration of eleven official languages in the new post-1994 South Africa and the creation of the statutory Pan South African Language Board created impressions of due recognition and heightened status of the indigenous African languages. However, this has not been the case. Alidou argues that there are three sets of factors – economic, political and pedagogical – which lead to the non-implementation of mother tongue education in African schools (Alidou, 2004: 196).

The pressure of research findings, cultural and advocacy groups has had some success in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In 2006 the Western Cape Education Department introduced a Language-in-Education Transformation Plan. It set itself four targets (Desai, 2006: 110):

- Support the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction till the end of Grade 6 (precisely what the focus of the LOITASA project was);
- Encourage communicative competence in the three official languages of the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa);
- Bring parents on board in relation to language in education policy (a feature of the LOITASA project); and
- Extend mother tongue education to more pupils through making it also available to speakers of languages other than Afrikaans and English (WCED, February 2006: 5-8).

Currently there are sixteen experimental primary schools where isiXhosa is the medium of instruction up to Grade 6 out of the one hundred and 50 schools where the pupils are Xhosa-speaking. An Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) programme in Language Education has been instituted at the University of Western Cape as a professional development programme for serving teachers in the Intermediate Phase, to address the shortage of language teachers. Hopefully, this new LOI policy will expand rapidly, spurred on by research of projects like LOITASA. Let us hope that these incremental changes will lead to national shifts in LOI policy in all provinces of South Africa.

Conclusion

In this article I have tried to address some of the major structural concerns facing the rationale for the use of African languages as LOI. I argue strongly for the shift towards the use of the mother tongue as a language of instruction to at least Grade 7 in the primary schools in South Africa. Some aspects of the important research done by the LOITASA project are highlighted.

I recommend, however, that strong advocacy and lobbying initiatives will have to follow with the relevant stakeholders, viz. parents, policymakers, politicians and civil society generally. This will require collaboration and coordination with the existing advocacy structures and organisations, also the establishment of an effective lobbying organisation to debunk the previous notions of English as language of instruction at all costs. These are huge challenges, but worth pursuing in the future interest and success of the African child!

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INDIGENOUS PEDAGOGIES AND LANGUAGES FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

By Ladislaus M. Semali

Stories of the hunt will be stories of glory until the animals have their own historians (Zimbabwean proverb cited in BrockUtne 2002: 237).

Learning to listen to different voices, hearing different speech, challenges the notion that we must all assimilate — share a single similar talk — in educational institutions. Language reflects the culture from which we emerge. To deny ourselves daily use of speech patterns that are common and familiar, that embody the unique and distinctive aspect of our self, is one of the ways we become estranged and alienated from our past. (Hooks 1989: 79-80).

Introduction

The language question is about power—a political choice that lies with governments and global players of geopolitics—aimed at redistributing power, privilege, and resources internationally as well as within an African country. Understanding the language-power nexus in our schools and institutions of higher education exposes the tensions throughout history, that have characterised the quiet struggle between those who speak the language and those who wield political power (Alexander 2000, Brock-Utne 2008). At times, this struggle bubbles up in a variety of scenarios, from national crisis to an all - out threat to peace. Our current times are not different or an exception. The 1976 riots in Soweto, South Africa, are a constant reminder of the tenuous situation in which tension hovers around fragile peace, social development and equally in which human wellbeing hang in the balance of identity politics and language.

Peace is threatened and social development is tenuous when cultural context and the politics of language and identity are ignored. The Soweto riots were triggered by the South African government's proposed law saying that all students must speak and learn Afrikaans in school. The intention was to impose Afrikaans' culture into the native Africans' lives (Suzman 1993). However, native school children did not want to learn or speak the language of their oppressors. For them, it was a difficult tongue to understand and to grasp. Besides, the students liked the old system with the blacks' own languages and English. Furthermore, the 2007 post-election riots in Kenya is yet another reminder of this tension, where the political dispute degenerated into ethnic violence nationwide, reigniting divisions along ethnic and

linguistic fault lines, pitting Kibaki's influential Kikuyus against Odinga's Luos and other tribal communities (Kenya 2007).

These tensions hone in the axiom that languages do not exist independently from the people, families and communities that use them. Language and ethno-cultural identity and existence are inextricably linked. For example, Fishman reminds us that when students lose their native language to English, they do not become Anglos and obtain social acceptance. By doing so, they lose their language as a tool for accessing the help that their families and communities could give them (Fishman 1994: 69).

As explained by Court (1997), language plays a very important role in the development of thinking, speech and memory. It originates in a community of people who use it to mediate their communication. A community's language will reflect its specific view of the world. So, why would any nation deny its peoples this inalienable right? Babs Fafunwa (1982:9) suggested that "no study of the history of education in Africa is complete or meaningful without adequate knowledge of the traditional or indigenous educational system prevalent in Africa prior to the introduction of Islam and Christianity."

This chapter focuses on the epistemology of language and indigenous pedagogies for peace and development. From my own perspective, as someone who is primarily interested in language and literacy, I recognize we now live in challenging times that demand first and foremost, an understanding of the nature of language. All of us need to examine the important differences in the ways that people use language in their attempt to become active participants in their own lives and the lives of those around them. In this essay, I offer my thoughts as to why valuing local language literacy and indigenous knowledge are important to today's educators and policy makers.

Local Language Literacy in the African Socio-Cultural Context

In their discussion of human language, both Vygotsky (1972) and the members of the Bakhtin Circle (1981) argue that a language will be inscribed with the unique meanings provided by a given social context with its unique economic, historical, and social relationships. Voloshinov (1973) extends Vygotsky's approach by addressing the relationship between the development of language and social institutional phenomena. The argument is that language reflects social relationships and social relations, most of which in turn are affected by socioeconomic conditions and the power structure of a society. Thus, the socioeconomic and power structures begin to be reflected in the language we utilise.

For example, in examining indigenous African education and knowledge closely, we see that it involves a very different epistemological understanding of education as: a means to an end; social responsibility; spiritual and moral values; participation

in ceremonies, rituals; imitation; recitation; demonstration; sport; epic; poetry; reasoning; riddles; praise; songs; story-telling; proverbs, folktales; word games; puzzles; tongue-twisters; dance; music; plant biology; environmental education, and other education-centered activities that can be acknowledged and examined.

In the African context, subjugation emerges from several intersections albeit hidden from view or systematic critique. The use of euphemisms (i.e., obscure language that assuages or distracts from real meaning), historiographical apartheid (language that discriminates or undervalues some languages and elevates others as more appropriate for the study of science and technology or as International languages), and the flat - out rejection of some languages as unsuitable for instruction at certain grades in classrooms (e.g., indigenous languages classified as vernaculars, dialects, creoles, or simply minority languages). These tensions form part of the debates that characterise the landscape of the discourse of language and power. The obscure use of language and the devaluing of local languages continue to distract governments and policy - makers from taking a decisive action and relegate - related important issues of language to political wrangling.

In an attempt to examine the dialogical relationship between the asymmetry of power and language, we need to remember Foucault's description of "domination" in the power knowledge nexus when he wrote: "in speaking of domination I do not have in mind that solid and global kind of domination that one person exercises over others, or one group over another, but the manifold forms of domination that can be exercised within society. Not the domination of the King in his central position, therefore, but that of his subjects in their mutual relations: not the uniform edifice of sovereignty, but the multiple forms of subjugation that have a place and function within the social organism" (1980: 96). And of those "multiple forms of subjugation," I would argue that language and discourse systems are among the most important to examine in the African context.

In this vein, subjugation is illustrated best by Fishman in the quote referenced previously that *Uniformation* (when everyone speaks one language, e.g., the English only movement in the USA) is never an optimal human solution. It necessarily involves subjugation of the weak by the strong, of the few by the many: in short, the law of the jungle (Fishman 1991: 31). Ngugi W'a Thiongo laments on his motherland about such subjugation. He states: "In the realm of culture, Africa has been robbed of languages in the most literal and figurative sense so that even today Africa is still defining itself in terms of Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone linguistic zones" (Wa Thiongo 2000: 96). We must therefore constantly ask the political question: Can Africans define themselves linguistically or must they wait for others to define them?

Local Language Literacy Repression

The phenomenon of local language literacy repression represents a process by which individuals mediate the different strategies of survival in response to the dynamics of living in constant tension between conflicting cultural values and conditions of cultural subordination. They must also address the dominant discourse of educational institutions and the realities they must face as members of indigenous or remote area cultures. Denying or manufacturing consent through devaluing tactics of native language and its potential benefits in the development of the student's voice constitutes a form of psychological violence and functions to perpetuate social control over subordinate language groups through various linguistic forces of cultural invasion (Faraclas 1997).

The legacies of cultural invasion are manifest and remain in force in many countries, particularly in the former European colonies in Africa. For example, even though Africa is reported to have the second largest number of languages after Asia (2,092 and 2,269, respectively), it accounts for only 11.8 per cent of all language speakers in the world (Gordon 2005). These languages are distinguished from the colonial European languages that were imposed on Africans in the colonial period by the British, French, Spanish and Portuguese governments. With few exceptions, there were no systematic attempts during the colonial era to use any African languages in high status functions, not even in domains such as secondary and tertiary education (Alexander 2000).⁶² As colonial languages, these tongues were introduced to schools and have been constitutionally recognised either as official or national languages. Often times, the distinction between official and national languages is not clear. In this confusion, however, lie the contradictions, politics, and ideologies that surround native or indigenous languages in many of the 54 countries of Africa (including the disputed territory of Western Sahara and 47 of which are Sub-Saharan Africa).

In spite of compelling research and statistics, there is little sympathy or consensus as to what accounts for this language-related confusion or bias. What role(s) do teachers play in local language literacy bias? The politics of language bias — Swahili versus English, Bambara versus French, indigenous versus European languages — embody many of the dilemmas and contradictions underlying local language literacy and cultural invasion legacies. For many politicians in African countries, both in English-speaking East Africa and French-speaking West Africa, the questions of local language literacy and the case of repressed or subjugated indigenous languages are better left alone than addressed. Nevertheless, within the national language politics lie the tension between assumptions of being “educated”, “literate”, or “civilised” and the impetus for promoting local language literacy, dialects, and indigenous languages, rather than English or French. Thus, the suppression of local knowledge or local languages and the replacement of print literacy in English (or other European languages) have done more to destroy critical literacies in non-

⁶² See Kwesi Kwaa Prah's chapter in the outset of this section of the book.

European populations than any other force⁶³ (see Brock-Utne and Hopson (eds) 2005, Brock-Utne and Skattum (eds) 2009).

The suggestion that indigenous languages are valid, effective, and worth as the dominant dialogue is madly contested. Indigenous African language education and knowledge have generally been understood and reckoned as a simplistic process of socialisation involving the preparation of children for work in the home, the village and within a select ethnic domain. Thus, most contemporary discussions on indigenous African education rest in the shadow of Western Globalization ideas about structural adjustment, development, etc.; and congruently, it is projected as a stagnant, limited, and inoperative paradigm which pushes some people to conclude that any serious discussion about the indigenous transmission of values and its accumulated knowledge in Africa is a waste of time (Itabari 2006).

I argue that language must be recognised as one of the most significant human resources; it functions in a multitude of ways to affirm, contradict, negotiate, challenge, transform, and empower particular cultural and ideological beliefs and practices. Elsewhere, I have outlined the basis for this local language literacy bias and the obstacles of a coherent policy for indigenous languages particularly in the context of schools. The obstacles to the implementation of local language literacy include:

1. a lack of political will to correct the contradictions of intent and practice which set unrealistic national goals;
2. dependence of foreign fiscal planning;
3. inappropriate macro planning;
4. inappropriate research methods;
5. a lack of formal African school teaching methodology;
6. the difficulty of obtaining donor support for research in indigenous education;
7. the alienation of many African intellectuals from their culture; and
8. and negative attitudes towards the legacy of colonial education (Semali 1999: 309, 311-312).

This critique is instructive, and in turn, effectively highlights the call for people in Africa to "...rethink education and schooling and begin a new path which departs from foreign interpretations of what is important at the local level" (Semali 1999: 317). And more importantly, the questions persist about: how much control do African people have over the production of their identity, to what extent do they consciously and knowingly continue to be ignored, and how to set African education theory ablaze in search of a pedagogy of excellence (Semali et al. 2007).

⁶³ See Walter Bgoya's and Kwes Kwaa Prah's articles in the last section of the book.

In principle, I concur with Vygotsky and Bakhtin that language constitutes one of the most powerful media for transmitting our personal histories and social realities, as well as for thinking and shaping the world. Language is essential to the process of dialogue, to the development of meaning, and to the production of knowledge. It must be respected in order to make learning meaningful and lifelong. I strongly believe, therefore, that indigenous literacies provide an important database for any follow-up to collateral learning. These literacies might include employing their indigenous language to relating their history, epistemology, and all that goes to make up the necessary skills and how they make pragmatic adaptations to communicate complex matters among themselves and with others outside their communities. One of the difficulties with promoting minority or indigenous languages in schools is that teachers are either unprepared, uncomfortable, or simply prefer to hold tightly to their language biases (Semali 2004).

What Can Teachers Do? Voices from the Field

Voices from within and outside academia have commented on the need to value indigenous pedagogies and languages. Although ethnographers and anthropologists may have studied informal educational practices in families and communities in other parts of the world — for instance, traditional oral education or initiation pedagogies in Africa, Islamic or Quranic educational philosophies in the Middle East, or how to build an Igloo in an Eskimo village — by and large, very little of this knowledge has become part of core curriculum or foundational epistemology of education at colleges for what is seen as the canon or “mainstream” education. However, new non-Western epistemologies found in titles like *Tradition as a Modern Strategy*, *Modern Dilemmas and Traditional Insights*, *The Indigenization of Modernity*, *Indigenous Education*, and *Models for Contemporary Practice*, reflect the promise and growing prominence accorded alternative approaches to educational thought in the current development thinking and research.

There is equally growing acknowledgement of underlying assumptions about the development process and need to critique:

1. that the development process is a cultural activity with embedded power asymmetry;
2. that cultural perspectives are discourses supportive of power relations and material effects;
3. that development is a concept, an idea, a discourse, a construction with different meanings to different people; and
4. that to begin activities aimed at development we must first critique our own culture and ideas about development, our own preferences and capabilities, values, and assumptions, ends and means (see Streeten 1997:19).

In response to these assumptions, Robert Chambers (1993) of Britain's Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, calls for "professional reversals", by which development workers become listeners and learners, while those whose lives they intended to "develop" become increasingly recognised as the teachers and experts. He challenges the wisdom of conventional experts and technocrats with their blueprints for economics, agriculture, education and health, and exposes these experts as being out of touch with the needs and experience of the poor, and perhaps often obstructive to their real hopes for change. The experience of NGOs and other development agencies, combined with the increasing amount of social science research now taking place in development, has confirmed the importance of taking account of the voice (language) and experience of indigenous communities themselves and valuing their indigenous knowledge if change is to be effective (World Bank 2004).

Responses from the field of education and classroom practice are mixed. For example, research studies conducted by LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) researchers reveal dilemmas and contradictions in the debates of local language literacy. In their comparative study, which span several years in two African countries, Tanzania and South Africa, the LOITASA researchers raised the following questions:

1. What are the current policies regarding the language of instruction in Africa?
2. To what degree are the policies being implemented?
3. What forces are working to have the policies changed and in what direction?
4. What is the underlying reasoning behind the current policies?
5. How have the policies developed over time?
6. How does the language in education policy actually work in the classroom?

The overall findings of the LOITASA studies (Brock-Utne et al. 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006) in Tanzania and South Africa illustrate and expose the dilemmas students face and the contradictions of language policies that parents and teachers encounter. For example:

1. Lessons conducted in Kiswahili showed an improvement in student participation and performance (Puja 2003: 119-120). Desai (2003: 61) found in the South Africa study that learners struggled to express themselves in English, and they are at a disadvantage when they are not taught in their mother tongue.
2. The majority of students did not understand most of what was taught in English (Puja, 2003: 119).
3. The use of English as a medium of instruction bars students from learning effectively and incapacitates some teachers in conducting effective teaching.
4. In practice, a majority of teachers use code-switching and code-mixing in their classrooms to make students understand, to clarify concepts and give instruction.

5. When students and teachers argued against switching to Kiswahili as medium of instruction (MOI), it was based on the grounds that English is an international language and language of science and technology.
6. Even when parents know that their children don't know English, they still insist that English should be the medium of instruction.
7. Some parents see "English" as synonymous with quality education (Rubagumya 2003: 157). (Malekela (2003) found that English teachers themselves are far from being proficient in the language (p. 109). Also, he found the policy of using English as a medium of instruction in post-primary education to be detrimental to meaningful learning (p. 110).
8. In an effort to eliminate the domination of one language group by another the drafters of South Africa's constitution decided to make all eleven of the country's major languages equal and official (Brock-Utne et al. 2003: 5).
9. Tanzania has an education policy document advancing the continued use of English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools and a cultural policy document from the same Ministry advocating the change of the medium of instruction in secondary schools and tertiary education to Kiswahili (Brock-Utne 2003).
10. Even though students admitted they had problems learning through English, they rejected the idea of introducing Kiswahili as the language of instruction (Puja 2003: 122).
11. "Students do not want the medium of instruction to be changed, even though they understood the lessons much better when they were given in Kiswahili" (Malekela, 2003: 106).

Conclusion

Currently, there are many challenges facing education in Africa: lack of funds, teachers, classrooms, learning materials, and transparency. Considering this challenge, contemporary African education needs a critical examination of its mission, goals and objectives that moves beyond the questions of select donor agencies and narrow national issues. There is an underlying contradiction between policy and actual practice. Why would university students hold on to English as a medium of instruction when they are not proficient in the language or at the same time value lectures being taught in Kiswahili? (see Chart 1). For example, findings 6,7,11, and 12 above reveal contradictory aspirations of English use at the classroom level that could perhaps be attributed to underlying local language literacy bias.

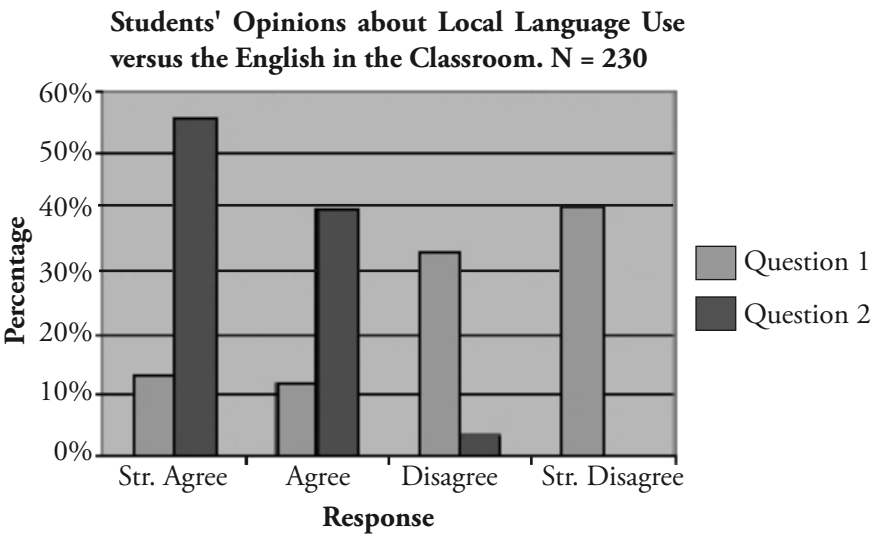
To test out these LOITASA results, I surveyed 230 students at a private university in Tanzania in 2006 and found similar contradictions and bias with 75 per cent who disagreed that Kiswahili should be made permanent medium of instruction at the

university and 97 per cent nevertheless agreeing that the use of Kiswahili mixed with English was helpful to understand class lectures (see Bar-chart below). Although some scholars have suggested that we need to ask different kinds of questions, it is unclear why students would hang on to a colonial language so tenaciously even when their proficiency is weak. Perhaps these findings are only symptomatic of a larger issue lurking beneath the surface of the entire educational enterprise. What should we do about it?

I concur with Horton (2000) that an African centred critical theory is needed to extract the best of indigenous African thought and practice in order to present research-based alternatives and solutions to the current challenges in African tertiary education. Such a critical theoretical perspective can

1. institute the development and application of ideas, theories and methods that fit the African ethos;
2. articulate the manner in which domestic and international social, economic and political structures differentiate, dominate and subordinate African education;
3. call for a more explicit discussion and examination of the nature of power and how it perpetuates oppressive educational, local literacy bias and social structures; and
4. institute a systematic approach to discourse concerning African education.

Although these four areas may not provide the magic wand that drives the language question away, it may well be a beginning to unravel a legacy that is entranced in power relations of various stakeholders, including students as well as teachers.



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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

THE OTHER SIDE OF “ALL”: COMPARING GLOBAL DISCOURSES OF EDUCATION WITH A COMMUNITY’S CHOICES — THE CASE OF THE NYAE NYAE JU|’HOANSI IN NAMIBIA

By Jennifer Hays

Introduction

In her important book, *Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind* (2006), Birgit Brock-Utne examines the relationship between donor countries and education in Africa, and criticises the overemphasis on basic, primary education in Africa. She also strongly criticises language policies that require a shift to European languages early in the schooling years, and the resulting lack of development of African languages, especially for educational purposes. Brock-Utne argues that the emphasis on basic education has resulted in a lack of support and resources for African universities, which in turn, has further reinforced the marginality of African languages, knowledge, and culture.

This paper looks at the question *Whose Education for All* and the emphasis on basic education, as it applies to one marginalised community in Namibia – the Nyae Nyae Ju|’hoansi. The Nyae Nyae community was the site of an innovative and unique mother tongue education initiative, the *Village Schools Project* (VSP), initiated in the early 1990s (see also Brock-Utne 1995, 1997, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2001). Designed in close consultation with the community, and begun in an enthusiastic and supportive environment with generous donor funding, the VSP exemplified best practice. Fifteen years after the project’s inception, however, the Village Schools have had little success in their goal of facilitating the transition of Ju|’hoansi students to the government school in grade four, and very few Ju|’hoansi children make it through primary school.

Why is it that a mother tongue education project with so many advantages should not achieve its goals? Why is transition to the mainstream system so problematic? This paper argues that the Ju|’hoansi are expressing pedagogically sound opinions about

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Why is it that a mother tongue education project with so many advantages should not achieve its goals? Why is transition to the mainstream system so problematic? This paper argues that the Ju|’hoansi are expressing pedagogically sound opinions about

the way forward for their education and development—including repeated requests for mother tongue, community-based education to continue through higher grades and greater access to non-formal education. Why, despite the extensive consultation in the area, do they have such difficulty making their voices heard? Based on extensive local and regional field research, this paper argues that dominant global slogans such as *Education for All*—upon which current educational policies of Namibia and other African countries are founded—fail to acknowledge the Jul’hoansi’s *own* strategies for survival, education, and maintaining community cohesion. They thus direct the focus of education and development projects—and educational funding—away from some of the most critical concerns of communities themselves.

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project – The Background

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project (VSP) grew out of a collaborative effort between local NGOs and Namibia’s (then) Ministry of Education and Culture in the early 1990s, as a response to Jul’hoansi children’s lack of participation in the government school in Tsumkwe, the main town in the centre of the conservancy. In the Village Schools,⁶⁴ children are taught in the Jul’hoansi language, by members of their own speech community, and stay in their home villages, or with relatives. In 2004, the Village Schools were taken over by the (now) Ministry of Education, and it is no longer considered a “project”, but there is continuity of the basic concept. The focus of the Village Schools is on providing schooling closer to home that incorporates the language, knowledge and skills from their communities. It is supposed to ultimately prepare children to be successful in the government schools. Emphasis is on increasing the self-confidence of both learners and the communities, so that Jul’hoan children can enter the English medium government schools in Grade 4 with the basic skills necessary to succeed there, and a firm grounding in their own culture.

While in theory this describes a comprehensive, progressive project, in practice, there are some important problems that arise, stemming largely from an emphasis on the objective of transition to the mainstream (English) education system. Until 2007, no students from the Village Schools (VS) had gone on to complete grade four (or higher) at the government schools.⁶⁵ For this reason, when I was conducting extended fieldwork in the Nyae Nyae area in 2001-2002, from the perspective of many in government, as well as donors, the Village Schools appeared to be failing. Interestingly, the communities’ complaints—both children and adults—were

⁶⁴ The number of village schools fluctuates somewhat. There were originally three schools, this number later increased to five, and schools periodically close and reopen depending on water and food availability, movements of elephants, and other factors.

⁶⁵ In 2007, the first group of 3 students from the Village Schools—all from the same Village School—passed grade 4 in Tsumkwe. It remains to be seen whether this marks the beginning of an educational shift.

overwhelmingly *not* about the Village Schools, they were about the government school in Tsumkwe.

Emphasis on the transition to government school as the measure of success of the project, without attention to a series of other problems and the depth of the transition involved, has impeded adequate evaluation of the project and its core problems.

An Educational Paradox

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools present an educational paradox. On the one hand, they seem to embody all that one would hope for in an indigenous education project. They were conceived and introduced in the exciting wake of Namibian independence, in a national education environment characterized by progressive educational policies and recognition of the benefits of mother tongue education, and the value of the traditional culture and knowledge. The early concept of the project was received positively by the donor community and received substantial start-up and maintenance funding. Designed by a team of educationalists, linguists and anthropologists in close consultation with the Nyae Nyae community, the Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project seemed destined for success — incorporating the best from educational theory, working with people (the Ju|'hoansi) whose traditional approach to knowledge transmission exemplifies ideal learning strategies — and initiated in an enthusiastic and supportive environment.

By 2001, the project seemed to be teetering on the edge of collapse. Donor funding had diminished in anticipation of the Village Schools' transition to government schools, and yet this transition was problematic in many ways. Even more problematic was the transition of the children from the Village Schools to the mainstream school in Tsumkwe.

Since the Village Schools students did not seem to be making this transition successfully, the project itself was seen to be “failing”. The Ju|'hoansi of Nyae Nyae were not silent on this issue, but expressed their needs and desires in a variety of contexts—including formal consultation meetings, to researchers (including myself) and in their day to day actions and decisions about whether or not to attend the schools available to them. However, these requests seemed to go almost entirely unacknowledged within the broader arena of education and development for the Ju|'hoansi. Thus another frustrating paradox — why, in a project so carefully designed to be participatory, were the requests that they made so routinely ignored or dismissed?

Before continuing, I would like to just touch on a couple of points, which I will not dwell on here, but that are very important to understanding the overall situation. First, there are numerous problems with Tsumkwe school, and students complain of

many things, including lack of food, theft, bullying and other abuse, including rape, and not understanding the language used in the classroom (English). Secondly, there is an extreme mismatch between formal education and the traditional education and childrearing strategies of the Jul'hoan community. These include different moral understandings about competition and self-promotion; an emphasis on different kinds of information; differences in respect for individual autonomy; and differences in instructional techniques. As many researchers have noted, the use of corporal punishment is contrary to Jul'hoansi culture (Draper 1978; Brock-Utne 1997; Le Roux 1999, 2002). In Namibian schools, although it is no longer legal, corporal punishment is still reported by San students. Jul'hoansi parents resent teachers beating their children, and Jul'hoansi children respond to beatings by simply leaving school.

An important difference is also the age at which children are expected to actively participate in the educational processes of the community. Jul'hoansi children are generally free to choose what they want to do, and it is often only after in their mid-teens that they are ready to commit to an educational process; at this point, many are told they are too old to attend school. Finally, there are few successful role models of Jul'hoansi who have been able to navigate the education system, find employment and stay within their community; for those few who have, new and difficult challenges arise (Hays 2007). For all of these reasons, and others, the Nyae Nyae community experiences deep problems with formal education and extremely low success rates in the government schools. The goal of simply "transitioning" to the government school involves a much deeper shift than is usually acknowledged.

Given all this, the desires of the Nyae Nyae Jul'hoansi, described below, are not at all naïve or unreasonable. However, there are a host of reasons why their requests do not get fulfilled, despite the unending stream of researchers and evaluators coming to visit the community and talk to them about what it is they want. The section below will briefly examine two of the primary desires expressed by members of the Nyae Nyae Community re: their Village Schools, and examine the rationale behind them, and also the reasons why they are not implemented.

Two Community Suggestions

Desire for mother tongue education closer to home for longer than up to grade four

One consistent request of the Nyae Nyae community was for the Village Schools to continue past grade three, and people gave several coherent reasons for wanting this. One reason is delayed entry into TJSS, so that children will be better equipped - educationally, socially, and physically - to make the transition. Another reason suggested was to begin to create a "culture of schooling" in recognition that this

will be the most effective way to encourage the younger children to continue with school. Another reason was that parents wanted their children to stay with them in the villages for longer; a related reason was transportation; getting to and from Tsumkwe school - for weekends or holidays - was difficult.

Two possibilities were suggested by community members for expanding the Village Schools and increasing the length of time that children were able to spend there. One was allowing the Village Schools to go to higher grades (some even suggested up to grade twelve) and another was to have a consolidated San School in Baraka (the village where the headquarters of the Conservancy was located) from Grades four through seven. Both suggestions came up repeatedly, both at meetings of the Village Schools Committee, and in discussions at villages.

The proposal that the Village Schools should go higher, however, was never taken up as a serious possibility by anyone that I spoke with outside of the Conservancy. One reason given why this would not work was the lack of provision in Namibian education policy for “mother tongue education” past Grade three. In order for the Village Schools to go higher, the schools would have to be private; and since the communities were poor, this meant that they would have to secure donor funding. But donors expect projects to be “sustainable,” which means in this case that financial responsibility must ultimately be taken over by the government or the communities themselves. Securing an indefinite commitment to fund private schools in the Nyae Nyae area was not considered possible by anyone I spoke with. Other reasons included the lack of trained teachers up to Grade six, and the difficulty of finding appropriate people and training them. A lack of existing curriculum and education materials for the higher grades was another objection. Other serious concerns about the consolidation of the school at Baraka revolved around the potential for the social problems occurring in Tsumkwe to penetrate further into the conservancy. These concerns were expressed by Ju|’hoansi and outsiders alike.

All of these are legitimate reasons. What is often ignored, however, is the legitimacy of the desire expressed by the Ju|’hoansi. In effect, they are asking for the application of pedagogical principles that have proven sound to their own communities. Vast amounts of evidence indicate that *early exit models* - transfer to a foreign language as the language of instruction within the first few years of school - place minority language speakers at a profound disadvantage. Recent conferences on language and education in southern Africa have strongly advocated an approach characterized by culturally relevant education in their own language for at least 7 years - preferably much longer. This was the stance adopted by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) following recent meetings in Windhoek, Namibia (2005) and Accra, Ghana (2006). It was also the approach promoted at the 2005 Regional Mother Tongue Conference in Gaborone (ADEA 2006, Brock-Utne and Alidou 2006, Hays 2006, Heugh 2006). In other words, the most consistent requests of the Ju|’hoansi community are also the most consistent with educational research and with very current international movements.

Desire for greater access to Adult Education

The request for adult education in almost every village I visited was clear and consistent. People indicated an awareness of the numbers of adults warranting a class in their village. Most who brought up the request to me either had an exact number of adults who wanted to take the classes, or were prepared to organise a count. In addition, the suggestion that the children who had dropped out of school could join in an adult literacy class was often made by villagers.

Like the request for education in their own language and cultural milieu that continues up to higher grades, the desire for adult education, and its combination with other educational approaches, is sound pedagogical reasoning. In fact, as the experiences with education of indigenous peoples elsewhere reveal, multi-generational approaches to learning are the most effective way to ensure that an education effort will benefit the community. The trained Jul'hoansi literacy workers, however, having been taught that adults and children require different pedagogical strategies and should not be taught together, were not so sure about this proposal. Thus where they would have been the best vehicles to push this request forwards, they seldom advocated for this community request.

The Jul'hoansi would like to gain access to the skills that they need and want, including literacy in both English and Jul'hoansi; math skills, and other forms of knowledge associated with mainstream education. However, they would also like to maintain their traditional skills and knowledge; they value these, and still – in varying degrees – rely upon them for survival. If we consider the difference in pedagogical styles (noted above) along with these requests for the Village Schools to go higher, and the desire for adult education, we can recognise in the requests of the Jul'hoansi a valid, culturally appropriate educational strategy. Such an approach would, however, be more appropriately accommodated by *non-formal education*.

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools were originally conceived as community centers, where both mainstream and traditional skills were transmitted, where children were prepared for the government schools, and where adults could also come to the school both as learners and informal teachers. However, this ideal seems to have gotten lost along the way, and today the adults and elders participate minimally in the schools themselves. One reason is linked to the emphasis on the transition to the formal schools and to English. This emphasis stems from government requirements, which are influenced both by donor requirements (Brock-Utne 2006) and also by recent regional history (Hays 2007). Suggestions to increase the length of time of mother tongue instruction, or to extend the Village Schools to higher grades, were often perceived as promoting isolation of one particular ethnic group – an association that conjures the ghosts of an apartheid mentality and is almost universally negatively received. Furthermore, from the perspective of the government, the education of children and adults are seen to be two completely different things. They are

the responsibility of different departments in the government and use different methodologies. Therefore the integration of adult education with the village schools project — other than the sporadic use of the school building for adult literacy classes in some places — never happened.

Although there is a great deal of emphasis on community consultation, the community themselves perceive it as virtually impossible to voice their needs and desires (Hays 2007). One important reason for this is the influence of global discourses like that of *Education for All*, in which *education*, as Brock-Utne (2006) lays out so clearly, in essence means *primary* education. Brock-Utne argues that this emphasis on basic primary education comes at the expense of support for tertiary education — this is indeed a problem across Africa. It also comes at the expense of support and resources for non-formal education. There is thus a lack of funding and other assistance for the development of alternative, community-based approaches to education. While the Namibian Ministry of Education was making efforts to provide non-formal education to remote communities, these efforts were poorly funded and sparsely supported. There was an extremely disproportionate emphasis placed upon formal education for children. In the section below, I will highlight some of the ways in which the global discourse of *Education for All* can obscure what is actually happening at the local level.

The Global Discourse of Education for All

“Is it at all possible that aid could be given in favour of empowerment and self-help?” asks Brock-Utne (2006: 283). She admits that this is inherently problematic, as donor-recipient relationships are inherently disempowering and asymmetrical. She argues, however, that it *is* possible to create education for empowerment, and provides examples of how it has been done elsewhere. In order for this to happen, however, there must be a shift away from donor-driven educational policies. Current barriers to the creation of empowering education in Africa have to do with, as noted above, the shift of donor aid — according to explicit World Bank policy — from higher to basic education, with a resulting shift in focus by national governments as well. Combined with the continued emphasis on European languages, culture, and knowledge within this basic education, Brock-Utne argues that such policy approaches are “a recipe for ensuring that ‘Education for All’ becomes ‘Schooling for Some’ — schooling in Western knowledge” (ibid. 285). This comes, she makes clear, at the expense of the valuable, relevant and sophisticated African systems of knowledge, as “education” comes to be synonymous with the inculcation of Western ideologies and ways of understanding the world.

One thing that makes these issues difficult to address is the fact that the concept of *education* has such strong moral associations. Embedded in the discourse surrounding Education for All are messages of inclusion, economic opportunity

and increased participation in broader political, economic and social arenas. A movement towards *Education for All* is largely focused on students from groups that are otherwise marginalised from the education system. Boughton (2005) discusses how the concepts of equity and inclusion, as they are usually understood, apply to indigenous populations, suggesting that “equity in education has become a rallying cry for politicians seeking to avoid the harder questions of self-determination, land rights and treaty rights” all of which are far more threatening to existing power structures than educational equity (2005:204). What we need to remember, suggests Boughton (2005:204):

is that Indigenous economic, social and cultural practices require their own forms of education to sustain them, and this cannot occur through people simply being “included” where they once were “excluded.” Rather, the systems that seek to include them, including schools and universities, have to accept that this requires the negotiation of new forms of power sharing, not only in classrooms and courses, but at an institution and system level.

Drawing attention to the almost universal dispossession of land, cultural rights, and political autonomy on the part of indigenous peoples gives us a somewhat different perspective on the global education discourse of *Education for All*. Ostensibly this discourse is about providing the opportunity for San (and other minorities) to access the same skills as other members of society — skills that are deemed crucial to survival in the modern world. But the flip side is that in providing “access” to mainstream schools, there is a simultaneous denial of the legitimacy of the cultural knowledge and skills of indigenous peoples like the Jul’hoansi. The discourse of Education for All contains the unarticulated assumption that anyone who has not participated in this particular *kind* of education is “uneducated”. This becomes a factor in the apparent inability of the Jul’hoansi and others like them to successfully articulate their own desires in the broader circles of development and national government — they are seen as lacking the adequate abilities to determine educational outcomes for themselves.

This is directly connected to educational discourses. Lave and Wenger (1991:100) argue that:

... problems of schooling are not, at their most fundamental level, pedagogical. Above all, they have to do with the ways in which the community of adults reproduces itself, with the places that newcomers can or cannot find in such communities, and with the relations that can or cannot be established between these newcomers and the cultural political life of the community..

When people are not able to enter into a “community of adults” through the sanctioned route of education, there are few options left open to them. They thus become perpetual children, as the Jul’hoansi and other San often are within national, regional and development discourses (Suzman 2000, Hays 2007). This status in

turn becomes a part of the justification for their marginalisation and also makes it more difficult for them to effectively articulate their concerns and to propose their own solutions.

The marginal status of the Jul'hoansi is thus, in many ways, being reinforced through the education systems, *not* ameliorated. Likewise, for indigenous peoples across the world efforts to help them “assimilate” through the education system and other social institutions has simply not worked. Rather than resulting in full incorporation into the societies that dominate them, Western education systems are, for the most part, seen by indigenous peoples as having been imposed upon them, and in the process, having robbed them of valuable resources in the form of traditional knowledge and community cohesion, without providing viable alternatives.

Formal Education Perceived as the *Way Out* of the Cycle of Poverty and Marginalisation

The reason why it is particularly important to recognise the role of education in this cycle is because of the moral associations that education has and its perceived role as the *way out* of the cycle of poverty and marginalisation. The San, and indigenous peoples worldwide, present an enormous challenge to the global discourses of *Education for All*, which assume a fairly unproblematic goal of attaining educational equity for everyone, including (or especially) marginalised populations. Blame for failure to reach this goal often comes to rest on the marginalised populations themselves, who are presented as rebellious, irresponsible, and unreasonable (or even dishonest), or as passive victims who are *lacking* something – be it access to the dominant language and culture, the necessary resources, or the social capital or personal stamina to follow through with schooling. This view is supported by the success of a few San individuals who do manage to succeed in the formal education system, and take on positions in the national government and in the development world. The “light” of the dominant discourses shines on the handful of success stories, holding them up as evidence that educational success is possible and can vastly improve people’s lives. For the vast number of “failures” there is no real explanation, and their profound challenge is carefully ignored. Despite global evidence that formal education, as a tool for the integration of indigenous and other extremely marginalised peoples has done more harm than good, the assumption that education is the key to a better future for all still retains enormous power.

The dominant discourse can have the effect of closing off avenues to develop alternative approaches precisely because these approaches contradict its unexamined assumptions. *Education for All*, cast as the right to universal primary education through a formal education system, overlooks some very important points: that the solution of simple integration through education systems has not, in fact, proved workable in most places; that traditional knowledge, skills and ways of life are not

merely outdated and primitive, but that in fact they are valuable, important, and sophisticated in ways that may not be recognised within the dominant world-view; and that many Jul'hoansi themselves, like other indigenous peoples around the world, value their traditions and do to some extent still rely upon them. Neither the goal of maintaining these knowledge systems, nor that of gaining access to mainstream skills that they see as necessary, will be accomplished through routing all the children through basic primary education as it exists today for the Nyae Nyae community.

The Jul'hoansi are remarkably resilient, but they are also extremely vulnerable. A serious commitment to helping them improve their educational circumstances and gain access to the skills that they need to participate in the wider economic, political, and social systems *on their own terms*, requires challenging dominant assumptions about what education is, what it looks like, and who it is for. We do not have to look far to do this; cutting edge educational theory and current discussions about education and language, in Africa and elsewhere in the world, are advocating for shifts in educational policy that match closely what the Jul'hoansi are requesting. These include education in their own language for as high as possible, a school that more closely matches their culture and their needs, and far greater attention to adult and non-formal education. But what is ultimately lacking for the Jul'hoansi, and other San, is a fundamental respect for their culture, their knowledge, and their ability to make decisions about their own education and development processes. Recognising the legitimacy of their local strategies will pave the way for more appropriate educational approaches for the Nyae Nyae community.

The issues described here are not faced by the Jul'hoansi of Nyae Nyae alone. Similar patterns are found among indigenous San groups throughout southern Africa – indeed, among indigenous peoples throughout the world. Furthermore, although the San experience some of the worst educational (and other forms of) marginalisation in southern Africa, many of the dynamics they face – education in a foreign language, based on the culture, values, and pedagogical styles of foreign, colonial powers – are, as Brock-Utne (2006) describes, faced by Africans across the continent. A “decolonisation” of African education is imperative. Achievement of this goal, Brock-Utne emphasizes, will require a recognition of the value of indigenous African knowledge – both to Africans themselves, and to humanity in general. This, in turn, will require a celebration within Africa of cultural and linguistic diversity, and a respect for minorities groups like the Jul'hoansi and their educational strategies.

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“OSHINGLISHA OSHAPI EYI ETIA TEKA”: ENGLISH, COLONIAL POWER, AND EDUCATION IN 20TH CENTURY OWAMBO AND 21ST CENTURY NAMIBIA⁶⁶

By Rodney K. Hopson

Introduction

The first part of the title, “Oshinglisha oshapi eyi etia teka” or “English is the key that will never be broken” comes from the oldest respondent of a language study, Meme Julia Wambita who, while sitting on the ground of her home in rural northern Namibia in 2001, remarked at my questions about the role of English at her school during her attendance in the late 1930s. What she would say to me would be incredibly vivid years later as one of several themes that depicted the historical language ideology of English in Namibia and its unassailability but unattainability, as Neville Alexander (2000a) would explore later, in the case of English in southern Africa. As Meme Wambita would foretell, these themes would reverberate leading up to Namibia’s political independence in 1990 (Hopson, 2005).

As a product of St. Mary’s Anglican Church School at Odibo, Meme Wambita would have been part of a larger group of students influenced by the political and educational symbol of the school. Founded in 1924 by Father George (“Lukenge”) Tobias, the school represented a political, religious, and linguistic departure from the norm in the northern area of early 21st century Owamboland. What makes St. Mary’s at Odibo particularly interesting is the school’s efforts to promote English as symbol of freedom from the apartheid and colonialist influences that would take shape throughout much of the country.

St. Mary’s at Odibo was no ordinary school. As an educational training ground for much of the ruling elite in the current South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) government, it was perhaps the earliest known influence and the largest spread of the English language at the schooling level in pre-Independent Namibia. The school’s use of English as language of instruction would further serve as symbol of resistance to Afrikaans and emblematic of Namibia’s language policy and its hope for English, many decades before Independence.

⁶⁶ Acknowledgements to Birgit Brock-Utne for supportive and encouraging ideas since our meeting in 1999 at Comparative International and Education Society Annual Conference in Orlando, her incredible inspiration as a colleague and teacher for the way she motivates and endears her students, and her extreme generosity. Portions of this paper are drawn from a 2006 Oxford Ethnography Conference presentation.

Official English, Education, and Knowledge

I resonate with ideas of official language and official education as a way of extending Michael Apple's (2000: 9) official knowledge notions. To him, the reconsideration and rethinking of "what education is *for*, what and whose knowledge is considered legitimate, and who has the right to answer these questions" stands at the heart of "struggles by powerful groups and social movements to make their knowledge legitimate, to defend or increase their patterns of social mobility, and to increase their power in the larger social arena" (Ibid). I use these and expand Apple's concept as a way in which to view how language decisions inevitably purport contestations and struggles over social identity and social power.

The development and support of official English and English-Only in Namibia and in southern Africa, as others suggest (Pütz, 1995; Kamwangamalu, 2003) was hardly a capricious or non-historically influenced act. The confluence of historical developments both within and outside Namibia over the 21st century leading up to the 21st of March, 1990 were the result of decisions by powerful social, political, and religious entities at the national and international levels over decades to not only change the socio-political situation in the country, but also the language of instruction and the *lingua franca* from Afrikaans to English. These decisions helped to rethink and reconsider whose knowledge and education was legitimate and what would be the educational, linguistic, and political frames and ideologies of referent for the future generations in schools and society. The cultural politics of official knowledge (Apple, 1996), like the cultural politics of official English, requires understanding what counts as knowledge (and language) and who has the power to define, appropriate, and organise it in schooling and the larger society. The events that would take place at St. Mary's in the first part of the 20th century were harbinger for official English decisions over a half century later at the country's independence and a signal for shifting paradigms and regimes of social power exercised through language decisions.

In this chapter, I highlight the subtle and not so subtle themes of language, education, and colonial power through historical and contemporary illustrations and discoveries. Beginning with the story of Ota Benga, I illustrate that beneath the story of his exhibit at the World's Fair in 1903 were other global contentions both in the US and in Africa that made his capture and display even more revealing. The chapter additionally reports on fortuitous "discoveries" made on a recent sabbatical a couple of years ago. In the illustrations, the chapter raises issues about language, ideologies and hegemonies in the context of Namibia, southern Africa, and raises broader questions about how nation-states make decisions, choices, and sense of language of instruction, the purpose of education, and ultimately who benefits from these decisions and choices.

Ota Benga, Language, Education, and Colonial Power in Africa

In early February three years ago, the Monday after Superbowl XL, the major American Football championship, a story by Cynthia Crossen (2006) in the *Wall Street Journal* caught my eye partly by virtue of its prime placement in the newspaper and partly by virtue of its seemingly innocuous timing,⁶⁷ which only reverberated the theme of language, education, and colonial power. Crossen reported the story of Ota Benga, an African from the Congo exhibited at the World's Fair in 1904 and later in the Bronx Zoo (Bradford and Blume, 1992). Her story revealed to me how Benga's capture and display were a metaphor of civilisation and Globalization gone awry and emblematic of colonial attitudes towards Africans for some 200 years. What makes the narrative of Ota Benga especially compelling are two things from a sociolinguistic point of view: the situation in former Belgian Congo and 19th and 20th century Africa that would have made Benga the commodity and interest he appeared to an American public and the recurring discussions in the US and the larger interplay and contestation of political, historical, and linguistic interests at play.

As the story goes, following the first World's Fair in Philadelphia one hundred years after the U.S. independence and the second World's Fair in Chicago in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's arrival to the Americas, the third World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904 was to be a "comprehensive look back into the age of stone and before. They wanted to show not only where Western man was and where he was headed but also where he had come from" (Bradford and Blume, 1992:5). Like Geronimo, the Eskimo, Ainu, Zulu, and other native peoples from the world over, Benga was on display under the direction of Dr. W.J. (Chief) McGee, head of the Anthropology Department of the fair. Chief McGee dispatched special agents, one of them being, Samuel Phillips Verner, an American missionary and explorer on contract with the St. Louis Exposition Company, who is credited with bringing Benga to the World's Fair in St. Louis. Verner and McGee, credited as founders of the American Anthropology Association, were carrying out an American version of *oeuvre civilisatrice* (a civilising mission) at a time when racism of evolutionary theory pervaded the hearts and minds of scientists, anthropologists, and journalists in the late 1800s of the US (Levering 1993).

There is something especially eerie and coincidentally fortuitous about remembering Ota Benga and juxtaposing the timeless accounts from the perspective of language, education, and colonial power in Africa for instance. Johannes Fabian's (1986) seminal book on the appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo, or what is currently known as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), provides both an understanding of Benga's world in late 19th/early 20th century rural Africa and

⁶⁷ To this day and upon re-reading, I still cannot figure out why Crossen's article, under the heading *déjà vu* appeared then and what was the purpose of the story. In fact, upon my email to Crossen, her only response to me for writing the story "was to help make sure Ota Benga wasn't lost to history" (email communication, 2/14/2006).

reveals important observations on the significance of colonialism and educational and language underdevelopment. Fabian describes a late 19th century Congo as an important study of status language planning decisions, especially considering how and why Swahili was adopted as colonial lingua franca. Fabian describes a picture of Belgian Congo, like other parts of rural Africa, on the verge of rapid transformation and development as a result of a reenvisioning of the continent by Western Europeans and North Americans. At least in the Congo, Fabian (1986: 42) suggests that the

(monogamous) nuclear family, a certain degree of literacy, a modicum of private property, good health and a work ethic of Christian inspiration were the aims (and symptoms) of such transformation; education, 'hygiene', control of physical and social mobility and of political and religious association, and 'order' in the linguistic situation were regarded as the proper means to carry out the *oeuvre civilisatrice* (42).

Benga's exhibition is but one illustration of what Fabian complicates in the web of mission, economic, political interests in Africans and their languages by Americans, Brits, Belgians, and the French. One cannot fully discuss the widespread impact of educational and language policy and planning in indigenous Africa without attention to institutional structures and ideological foundations of colonialism and colonisation that existed across borders and in seemingly far away lands.

Fabian's analysis of colonial power and the cooperative relations that existed between a host of global ruling elites, missionaries, government administration, and private companies is especially revealing. It illustrates the Globalization, colonisation, and commodification of the indigenous and of black persons in larger structures of religious, corporate, university, and their corresponding publics. Again, it is hard to not picture the display of Benga alongside a scramble for Africa following the Berlin meeting in 1884, the birth and development of American disciplines and universities, and the larger industrialisation and postcolonial manoeuvrings that took place in the western world. Fabian writes, cognisant of the interplay between global processes and local conditions in an African context:

Imperialist expansion, Christian evangelization, and the development of modern linguistics and anthropology have not been merely coincidental. Each of these movements – economics, religious, scientific (and all of them political) – needed a global perspective and a global field of action for ideological legitimation and for practical implementation. To object that individual colonial agents, missionaries, and field anthropologists/linguists were mostly quite limited in their political horizons and in their subjective consciousness does not discredit the 'world-systems' or similar notions as heuristic tools in writing history. What counts is the factual existence of conditions allowing global circulation of commodities, ideas, and personnel" (Fabian, 1986: 72-3).

The story of language, education, and colonial power is indicative of, but extends beyond, Ota Benga. His story reminds us of the peculiar accounts of colonisation and colonialism that occurred to an indigenous group of people amidst larger discussions of hegemony, social reproduction, imperialism, colonialism, and Globalization as metaphor for other marginalised and oppressed persons the world over.

Discoveries on Language Hegemony and Ideology: Contributing to Birgit Brock- Utne's legacy on Language, Education, Globalization and Power

In a developing book project, I chronicle and critique the cost of language policy on social change in a post-independent Namibia. Influenced by questions that mark Birgit's legacy around language, Globalization, and power (Brock-Utne 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, Brock-Utne and Hopson 2005), I set out on a sabbatical a few years ago in Cambridge to read and reread seminal works related to the topic of the book in progress.

I had begun to re-read what I thought were seminal readings that helped shape my thirst for understanding why and how language decisions are made around education and society. One of my first pulls from the University Library stacks was Dell Hymes' work, largely due the realisation of his influence on my doctoral work (Hopson, 1997). Specifically, I picked up two of Hymes' texts that spoke to me, one from a seminal work that helped to lay foundations for sociolinguistics and education (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972) and one that appeared less popular but as seminal (Hymes, 1993). The chapter in the Bain edited book (1992), *The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct* spoke to me like none other had. Like a calling, I have always found that chapter by Hymes to be the one that I took personal and professional interest in. In the chapter, what fascinated me was how he likened the role of language in the United States to that of an underdeveloped country. He used our general societal lack of understanding of attitudes to language and our incompetence related to varieties or dialects of English in the country to make a larger statement about issues of race, class, hegemony, and social reproduction.

In illuminating language beside social and cultural reproduction, hegemony, and race, I take the Habermasian perspective here that language is not merely a means of communication but a "medium of domination and social power" and that through the appropriation and legitimation of language decision-making, social power and domination are revealed (Habermas, 1970; McCarthy, 1978). Language decisions in schooling and the larger society, in the case of Namibia or other nation-states, are not mere exercises in political decision-making; the decisions imply relationships among institutional and international structures and they reveal particular mechanisms of power and communication, reinforcing ideologies that permeate throughout schooling and daily life.

Two other references that explored language ideologies were next off the shelf (Bloomaert, 1999; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Koskriety, 1998). These two texts raised additional questions and posed ways of linking language, identity, cultural representations, and power. The language ideology work, while it had morphed out of the sociolinguistic tradition as a sub- or micro-application and discovery beneath a larger heading of sociolinguistics made a lot of sense in thinking through the role of English at Odibo and more importantly at Namibian Independence. The Hymes chapter in the Bain book and the Schieffelin, et al and Bloomaert books converged into a discussion of colonial and historical language ideologies. For instance, Bloomaert framed a third question that rang loudly and informed my thinking about the Namibian situation. When he pondered, “What is the connection between language ideologies and broader political and ideological developments in a society?” and illustrated through edited cases the world over, it was clearer that language, ideology, politics, and national development were inextricably linked (Kroskriety, 2000; Tollefson, 1995).

The Bain book as I would additionally discover, had more important chapters than the Hymes chapter. For years, I had read the Hymes chapter and only skimmed the rest of the book. So, while skimming, I stumbled onto Ivan Illich’s (1993) chapter, Vernacular Values and Education, which had laid unread for nearly a decade in my occasional readings of the chapter and book. In it, Illich describes, in more depth than Schieffelin, et al, the other important discovery of 1492 of the Western world.

The discovery of 1492 by Columbus was not the only important, albeit miscalculated, colonial event of the late 15th c. In fact, as others rightly declare (Loewen, 1995), it is still a shame that we pay such homage to this “hero” the way we do in American classrooms and in public every year in October. The other important event, which had more reference to language ideology and lay a framework for understanding language and social power, involved the same Queen (Isabella) and a linguist. As the story goes, Antonio de Nebrija approached the Queen about reappropriating and replacing Latin with Spanish as the official language of Spain. As an Italian-trained and schooled Spaniard, de Nebrija would write a seminal piece of work in 1492, *Gramática Castellana*, the first grammar of the Spanish language and the first grammar produced by a Romance language. Essentially, he argued to the Queen that language is harbinger of empires and that language choice and selection were critical in the establishment of nation building and dominating. That de Nebrija’s story and request to the Queen was perhaps less known but more important to the student language, politics, and social power, was an important discovery and put into perspective how the founding of nations inevitably involve language decision-making.

The Way Forward: Language Choices and Societal Identity in Postcolonial, Post-Apartheid Namibia

I had always know there was something especially particular about Namibia. Why would the 9-10th largest country on the African continent, having German and Afrikaner colonialist influences, choose English as “monolingual habitus” (Gogolin, 1994, as cited in Alexander, 2000b), a foreign language (spoken by 1-5%) of the population of 1.5 million people at independence in 1990, as official language and medium of instruction? The reference to this term is obviously influenced by Pierre Bourdieu (1977) who defined habitus as a set of dispositions, unconscious but embodied and enacted in particular contexts. The notion of monolingual habitus then presupposes that a set or norms of behaviours, attitudes, and actions both institutional and individual, occur in the prescribed monolingual settings. Prior to and at the founding of Namibia, were there sufficient understandings about the challenges and opportunities in the hegemonic dimensions to the English language ideology? That is, what might be the challenges to a monolingual habitus in post-independent Namibia and what other implications are there for schooling in the post-apartheid country?

Anthony Simpson’s most recent book (2008) on language and national identity in Africa raises important issues for consideration in a Namibian context. He identifies some of the forces why support is given for the use of languages in prominent positions which, can influence the identity of nations and their populations. One force is the prestige value potentially associated with a language. Hence, when one thinks of English in Namibia, those choices surrounded the prestigious mark of education, modernity, status, key to economic self-advancement, access to higher levels of employment, and so on. Almost twenty years after Independence, does the prestige value of English really matter for learners in schools and at what cost, and/or does the prestige value camouflage other more serious issues about the role of education and language in a postcolonial globalised Southern Africa?

The second force in favouring of and allegiance to a particular language sometimes occurs as a response to “a perception of attempted dominance by more powerful or more numerous Others within the country” (Simpson, 2008: 15). He coins this as a reactionary language choice and clearly in the case of Namibia there were sentiments that suggested that the choice of English would be more favourable than a language of the oppressor (as in Afrikaans) or the language of the predominant group (as in Oshiwambo). And while this favoured allegiance to English may have been motivated by the language of opposition and predominant population, it is not altogether clear that Afrikaans has not maintained its lingua franca status throughout much of the rural countryside.

The third force, according to Simpson relates to the unassailability and inevitability of European languages, in this case English, for continued access to ongoing

developments in science, technology, and so on. It is certainly true that English presents a certain inevitability in 21st century Namibia. However, I return to Alexander's push to encourage additive language policy and planning approaches where indigenous and local languages flourish simultaneously within Official English contexts, instead of zero sum language policies that encourage the use of English at the demise of indigenous and local language and educational development. At least in some indigenous cases in the country (Hopson and Hays, 2008), there are increasing questions about how language groups fare in the nation-building context and how to instead recognise the increasing benefits of mother tongue education (despite the ghosts of apartheid that used *moedertaalonderwys* as a means "to inculcate an inferior Bantu education curriculum specifically designed for the subordination of the African child" (Alexander, 2000b:11).

Despite these explanations and elaborations of language choice and selection, Neville Alexander (2000a) makes clear that the linguistic hierarchy built into the colonial system continues to illuminate a particular relationship between neo- or pseudo-colonial language policy and the reproduction of social inequality. The jury is still out whether cultural capital of the pseudo-colonial elite in Namibia will in fact set them apart from the vast majority of the population. More clearly, he wonders and posits that "the only question we need to pose here is the extent to which these elites cynically deny the realisation that for the overwhelming majority of 'their' people, the type of proficiency in the relevant European, or world, language that would empower them is actually unattainable under present conditions" (Alexander, 2000a:11).

In conclusion but in imaging the way forward for Namibia, we must wonder if the pre-Independent logic and rationale for language choice and selection, typified through the graduates and symbol of St. Mary's, as illustrated by Meme Wambita, continue to make sense for the current realities and situations of the post-independent context. That is, did the role of English in 20th century Owamboland and Namibia serve as short term means of political independence? Should the same logic of English in pre-independent Namibia in language policy, planning, and decision-making be the same for a post-independent, post-apartheid, globalised context? What role should English play for larger questions and issues regarding African emancipation? At least for now, the story of English in 21st century Namibia is too young to tell, but if we resonate with Ayi Kwei Armah's admonitions (2006), we still have a long way to go to achieve a sense of freedom and identity from colonial, apartheid legacies that reinforce invisibility and devaluing of African languages, values, resources, and social systems in favor of European ones.

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EDUCATION, INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

By Anders Breidlid

Introduction

The rationale for the focus on the relationship between indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable development in this article is the overall low success rate of earlier Western-based development strategies in assisting the poor to escape their dismal conditions. Particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa a real developmental take off does not seem to have materialised. Clearly the reasons for this are multiple, but arguably one reason is related to the modernist development paradigm which both aid agencies and governments in the South have uncritically adhered to. Western knowledge and science have played a hegemonic role in the developmental efforts in the South, whereas indigenous knowledge has been characterised as inefficient, old-fashioned and not scientific, and relegated to the realm of insignificance.

Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Sustainable Development

Western science and knowledge systems have during the last decade been questioned and critiqued by a number of scholars and politicians in both Africa and Asia as well as in the West. Inspired by the African Renaissance in particular, interest in and focus on world-views and indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in Africa as a supplement to what some call reductionist science and knowledge systems, have led to an exploration of “the role of the social and natural sciences in supporting the development of indigenous knowledge systems” (Odora Hoppers 2002: vii).

Indigenous knowledge

The important contributions of philosophers and theologians like Mbiti (1969) and Idowo (1982), have exposed the importance of metaphysics and religion in African epistemology, whereas the Ghanaian philosopher Gyekye (1997) has analysed African world-views and cultures in terms of a tradition- modernity dichotomy.

Crossman and Devisch (2002), emphasise this interrelatedness in their understanding of indigenous, or as they prefer to call it, endogenous knowledge systems and world-views, and characterise them in terms such as holistic and organic, non-

dominating, non-manipulative, non-mechanical (social and people-centred and relational). While Crossman and Devisch can be criticised for being normative and idealising indigenous knowledge systems, Odora Hoppers and Makhale-Mahlangu, in their definition of indigenous knowledge systems, may seem to tone down the metaphysical aspects of such systems by referring to them as:

the combination of knowledge systems encompassing technology, social, economic and philosophical learning, or educational, legal and governance systems. It is knowledge relating to the technological, social, institutional, scientific and developmental, including those used in the liberation struggles (Odora Hoppers and Makhale-Mahlangu 1998 quoted in Odora Hoppers 2002, pp. 8-9).

It is, however, imperative that African indigenous knowledge systems are understood in relation to a world-view which is to a large extent realised in religious ceremonies, rituals and other practices. Our fieldwork among the Xhosas in South Africa confirms such a view (for a comprehensive discussion of this fieldwork, see Breidlid 2002). Even though there are aspects linked to indigenous, cultural practices other than religion, religion and religious practices are central to Xhosa epistemology.

A very similar picture is painted by both Mbiti and Idowu of other ethnic groups across the African continent (Mbiti 1969, Idowu, 1982). A definition of indigenous knowledge must therefore both account for the holistic, metaphysical foundation (world-views) of indigenous knowledge systems and their various ramifications. Consequently indigenous knowledge systems encompass, I argue, world-views, cultural values and practices and knowledge systems derived from these world-views and practices and related to metaphysical, ecological, economic and scientific fields. This holism was in Europe undermined by the Protestant reformation (Delanty 2000), which played an important role in the rise of modern science (and the separation between the secular and the spiritual) and thus in the advent of modernity (Breidlid 2002). Indigenous knowledge is delimited geographically and culturally in the sense that the emphasis is on place, e.g the homestead. Moreover, indigenous knowledge is, as Sillitoe argues, as “much skill as knowledge, and its learning across generations is characterised by oral transmission and learning through experience and repetitive practice” (Sillitoe 2000: 4).

Indigenous knowledge poses an alternative to narrowly - focused scientific disciplines which may neglect the interconnections of natural phenomena, for example in agriculture, that may promote sustainable development.

Sustainable Development

The lack of respect for local or indigenous knowledge and the assumption by many Western scientists about the superiority of Western epistemology and scientific

discourse is a serious obstacle to sustainable development in light of their apparent failure to meet human development needs and at the same time to protect nature and the eco-system. In some scientific circles in the West there is, however, a growing realisation that the South may have something to teach the West, and that indigenous knowledge may increase our scientific understanding of natural phenomena which might be crucial for sustainable development (Brock-Utne 2000b, 2002).

The terms "development" and "sustainable development" need therefore also to be addressed from an indigenous perspective, thereby including other epistemological and cultural perspectives of what sustainable development implies. The assumption is that perspectives from different knowledge systems produce a more comprehensive understanding of sustainable development interventions. The implication of such an assumption is not, however, that indigenous knowledge systems are completely isolated from Western knowledge; "people will incorporate and reinterpret aspects of Western knowledge and practice into their traditions as part of the ongoing process of globalization" (Sillitoe 1998: 230). Moreover, any inclusion of indigenous knowledge does not imply its overall relevance and adequacy in addressing developmental issues.

Sustainable development is an evolving concept, which has scientific as well as moral connotations, and is indeed also very contentious. While certain environmentalists criticise the very idea of sustainable development because the term "development" seems to imply economic growth, others assume that sustainable development can only be achieved if growth is given a new content. Other writers again think that capitalism and sustainability are compatible, since capitalism is the only surviving economic system and thus inevitable, and the question is rather how to change capitalism from within. The present global financial crisis has, however, shattered the belief in capitalism's superiority even among its staunchest supporters. Be that as it may, the global debate on sustainable development has only to a limited degree included our concern in this article, issues on indigenous knowledge.

Our Common Future (WCED 1987), the Brundtland report, proposed long-term environmental strategies for achieving sustainable development by the year 2000 and beyond, without paying particular attention to indigenous knowledge. At the World Conference on Environment and Development (WCED 1992) in Rio "sustainable development" was defined as development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. Since the above definition may be elusive and somewhat unclear, Goldin and Winters (1996: 1) propose to narrow the definition to "an economy in which future growth is not compromised by that of the present". Their definition is also problematic, however, in the sense that the issue of limits to growth, poverty, environmental issues and alternative knowledge systems are not really accounted for. While the intimate connections between poverty and the environment have become central to any discussion of sustainable development during the past two decades

(see e.g. Middleton and O’Keefe 2003), the hegemonic discourse has to a large extent failed to probe into the potentials of alternative knowledge systems.

While sustainable development is usually linked to environmental issues, the importance of education in sustainable development is also vital. The question is, however, what kind of education for sustainable development? When Chilisa et al state that it is through education that “ we learn about our cultural heritage and our values, and it is the means by which we transmit all forms of knowledge through generations” (Chilisa et al. 2003: 4), they have an education process in mind which is deeply rooted in the epistemological reality of the local people. It is in this context that the African Renaissance is important as it seeks, according to Odora Hoppers, to build “a deeper understanding of Africa, its languages and its methods of development” (Odora Hoppers 2002: 2).

As has been noted above the importance of indigenous knowledge in sustainable development has not been privileged in the global debate on sustainable development. During the World Summit in Johannesburg in 2002 (UN 2002), educational issues were raised, but the important questions about the relationship between education and sustainable development were not seriously addressed. Does any kind of educational input promote sustainable development?

Not even the documents from the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014, DESD) has a special focus on any potential links between sustainable development and education and different knowledge systems (for a further discussion see Breidlid, 2009).

Education in the South, Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainability: the Case of Curriculum 2005

In this section the new curriculum for South African schools, implemented after the ANC came into power, will be discussed, exploring the curriculum’s relationship to indigenous culture and knowledge systems as well as to sustainable development.

It is clear that neither indigenous knowledge systems nor sustainable development figure prominently in the curriculum. Even though indigenous knowledge systems are referred to in the revised version (2002), C 2005 is modelled on a Western discourse, depending heavily on different international contexts, especially from New Zealand and Australia (DoE 1995), suggestive of what the African scholar Chinweizu describes as “Europhiliac Africans” (Chiwaura, 2006: 214).

The concept of sustainable development is only mentioned in the revised version under the learning area “Economic and Management Sciences” (DoE 2002). The curriculum’s stress on universalism, ‘rationality’ and the compartmentalisation of knowledge (despite integrative efforts) clearly challenges traditional African values

where the focus on the locale, the pervasiveness of spirituality and the holistic view of life appear to be at odds with modern values (Breidlid 2002). The linkage between education, modernity and a “competitive international economy” is underlined as the prime engine in education policy (DoE, 1997 b), advocating a Western development course where sustainability and sustainable development are sidelined.

The revised curriculum in Natural Sciences touches upon the fact that people move between different world-views and knowledge systems in a day: “... the existence of different world-views is important for the Natural Science Curriculum ... Several times a week they cross from the culture of home, over the border into the culture of science, and then back again” (DoE 2002: 12).

As was exposed by our fieldwork in Eastern Cape, many teachers, like the pupils, cross cultural and epistemological borders on the same day, teaching Western science at school and taking part in traditional practices at home. How do pupils and even teachers cope with a knowledge system in school, which is alien to their home universe? As one science teacher told us: “I am a science teacher at school, and a traditional practitioner at home” (Breidlid 2002). The implication here is that the teacher operates with two fairly isolated knowledge systems which do not seem to mutually nurture each other. The sustainability of such a situation is certainly debatable, also in a more national, South African context. Fortunately, the revised curriculum (Natural Sciences) senses a critical challenge here, asking: “... Is it a hindrance to teaching or is it an opportunity for more meaningful learning and a curriculum, which tries to understand both the culture of science and the cultures at home?” (DoE 2002: 12).

The cultural border crossings have been identified by Bernstein (1971) as a big problem for working class youths in middle class schools in England. These border crossings, however important and difficult that they may be in the UK, seem of a much more limited, cultural-linguistic character than what can be observed in South African schools. Among Xhosa children it is not only a matter of linguistic code switching, but of a collision of knowledge systems which is of a far more serious and substantial character than class barriers in school in England. The revised curriculum in Natural Sciences signals that these challenges will be dealt with in curriculum development: “Science curriculum development, which takes account of world-views and indigenous knowledge systems is in its early stages and will be addressed with enthusiasm by many educators. This Revised National Curriculum ... is an enabling document rather than a prescriptive one” (DoE 2002: 12).

The crossing of epistemological borders to accommodate the so-called modern, rational world of science means that the pupil, according to Ogunniyi is “involved in negotiating and navigating a complex array of conflicting mental states. He must synergize these conflicts into a more comprehensive world-view capable of accommodation of the new experience within the framework of intra/intersubjective

life worlds, which provide him/her a sense of social identity” (Ogunniyi 2003: 27-28). The complexities of these negotiations and navigations should not be overlooked.

When indigenous culture is introduced in school it is often in terms of what Gyekye calls “a truncated and hence impoverished conception” (Gyekye 1997: 107) such as local cultural expressions like dancing and singing . Important as these events may be, they do not really address the underlying epistemological foundation of the indigenous culture and its relation to sustainable development, and they become isolated from the general thrust of the curriculum.

This is problematic for many reasons. One is the curricular marginalisation of indigenous knowledge systems that operate on a daily basis in many parts of the world. Can these knowledge systems not contribute to sustainable development? Another is the problematic nexus between modernity as understood in the West and sustainable development. The link between modernity, Western development in terms of, for example, unbridled individualism and ecological devastation referred to above is well documented and should, one would think, trigger some sort of curiosity for alternative knowledge systems, where the sacredness of nature may be an important factor in the prevention of environmental destruction (e.g. see Chilesa et al: 2003). The concept of “balanced” economy in C 2005 may possibly be perceived by some to be rhetorically progressive, but it does not in practice transcend the borders of the imported, Western knowledge system.

This does not mean that the South African government does not take the issue of IKS seriously. In the policy document *Indigenous Knowledge Systems* issued by the South African Department of Science and Technology (DST) from 2004, the efforts to affirm and develop IKS in South Africa are underlined (DST 2004: 3). On education the policy document states that the new education system since 1994 is the key to “sustainable technological capacity” and that it is “critical to ensure that the national education strategy is synergistic with and nurturing of IKS” (DST 2004: 17). Although IKS’ crucial role in C 2005 has not materialised, the very existence of a policy document on IKS signals at least a rhetorical commitment on the part of the South African authorities to put indigenous knowledge on the political agenda.

The task of bridging the gap between knowledge systems is also related to the issue of language in the classroom. If one agrees that quality education is an important tool in creating sustainable development, the focus must be both on the negotiations between knowledge systems in class, but also on the question of the language in which these negotiations take place. The importance of the mother tongue in teaching is confirmed in many research findings (Pattanyak 1986, Brock-Utne 2000, 2007, Heugh, 2000).

While not enough space has been set aside to negotiate the various cultures, world-views and knowledge systems in class, C 2005 makes these negotiations and

navigations even more difficult because the dominant school language is colonial and alien to the majority of primary school children in South Africa. (For a further discussion of the importance of mother tongue instruction in schools, see the preceding section of this book.)

Conclusion

There is an urgent need to address the issue of indigenous culture, sustainable development and education in Africa. When the languages and the cultures of the majority of the people are more or less excluded from the curriculum in the country, it does something to the self-confidence and self-esteem of those people, besides the obvious learning challenges it creates in school.

Moreover it has major implications for the distribution of power and democracy in the country where those in the driving seat do not seem to appreciate indigenous cultural capital, at least not in the education system.

There seems to be a fear that including indigenous knowledge will leave South Africa out of the process of Globalization (see Crossman and Devisch 2002: 107) and leave the successful school leavers at a disadvantage internationally, even though research has clearly shown that the present educational system under the ANC regime puts the majority of African school children at a disadvantage (Breidlid, 2002,2003, Sigcau 2004, Holmarsdottir 2005, Makelela 2005, Nomlomo 2007).

If the global debate on education and sustainable development to a larger extent incorporates alternative, local or indigenous knowledge, there is reason to believe that this more comprehensive understanding of what education is will help opening up new and innovative avenues in the quest for a more sustainable future.

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DISCOURSING E-VALUE-ATION: THE VALUES DIMENSION

By Roger Avenstrup

Introduction

This article compares the inclusion of a values dimension in two apparently very different types of donor-funded evaluation: a classroom impact study of the first Palestinian national curriculum (Avenstrup, Swarts, Abu Humos 2004) which was an evaluation of donor support to the development of the curriculum; and an evaluation of the international programmes of the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation, Switzerland (Avenstrup 2008).

This article explores how the problems of reconciling curriculum evaluation, curriculum politics and project cycle management on the one hand, and reconciling development NGO idealism and project cycle management on the other, connect at a deeper level of discourse once one moves to the level of evaluating the values dimension.

Trends of Curriculum Discourse

There are two main, but not always mutually exclusive, trends of curriculum discourse.

The one who engages in a discourse of social values e.g. Dewey 1916, Bernstein 1971, Stenhouse 1975, Eisner 1979, Goodson 1988 and the sociology of education debates.

The other is more individualist and technicist-oriented (e.g. Tyler, 1950; Bloom, 1956; Skinner, 1968) and the "standards" movement, and this has come to dominate the discourse of curriculum evaluation through the globalization of the "standards" movement. Curricula are evaluated first and foremost in terms of measurable learner achievement, particularly in language, mathematics and natural sciences.

Highly questionable comparisons between countries have mushroomed through the Globalization of international testing, such as SACMEQ, TIMMS, PISA, and the like (Hopmann et al 2007). There is an absence of discourse about values, but this does not mean that this approach is value-less. Values are implicit in what is measured and compared or not, how it is measured, why it is measured, and what political agendas such measurements and comparisons can serve. However, it is not an open discourse on the part of the perpetrators or political exploiters of such testing and comparisons.

Curricula have multiple dimensions, not just the measurable and quantifiable, including values. National curricula are intended to have a powerful steering effect on the whole educational system. The processes by which this is achieved are value-loaded through consensus, compromise and coercion and have to balance internal pressures from within the country, and external pressures from the region or even beyond (Archer 1984, 1985). Which values are promoted in reality emerge in the space between the official and the hidden curriculum and the space between the intended and appropriated curriculum.

The Development of National Curricula in Africa

In Africa, the development of national curricula has been fundamental to creating national identity and values, and yet no country has succeeded in developing a curriculum based on African epistemology and identity (Avenstrup (ed.) 1997, Breidlid, 2002).⁶⁸ Colonialisation of the mind in the continuing reproduction of a colonially shaped indigenous elite through structural, economic, curricular and examination mechanisms has been too strong. Dependency on donor and lending agencies to shore up education budgets has given undue influence to the donors concerned including in curriculum development (Brock-Utne 1994, 2000).

It is in donor support to curriculum development that the evaluation of curricula merges with evaluation according to project cycle management and a logical framework. The discourse is one of objectives, results, effectiveness, efficiency, measurable indicators, outputs and outcomes. Quality and relevance are included, but only in terms of project management, not to explore the vagaries of the qualities and relevance of education.

The USA and Europe tend to have more parochial curricula in terms of language and culture, although through mutual comparison they have been more openly affected by the international standards movement leading to reforms. One can question what is meant by the term “international”: whose standards become “international”, and in which areas of learning? African curricula have not been developed so much by comparison with each other, but steered by the backwash effect of examinations cosmetically adapted from the former colonial systems.

There is a widespread concern amongst curriculum developers as well as many other educators that what is measured through tests, examinations, and national and international achievement tests is a very narrow range of the whole intended curriculum. Values and attitudes are at the deeper level of impact, and seldom evaluated because of the limitations of testing.

⁶⁸ See also Breidlid's article in this volume.

Evaluation of the Support to the Development and Implementation of the first Palestinian National Curriculum

When Belgian Technical Co-operation wanted an evaluation of their support to the development and implementation of the first Palestinian national curriculum their main interest was – refreshingly so for a development agency - educational, not managerial: what impact could be observed in the classroom after almost five years exposure to the new curriculum? The evaluation of the Palestinian curriculum therefore sought to elicit information about this level of change, and took as its point of departure a definition of impact as the deeper long-lasting changes to individuals and institutions resulting from a given intervention. Impact can be positive or negative in relation to project objectives, and intended or unintended.

It was necessary for the Palestinian Ministry to engage in a curriculum discourse in the First Palestinian Curriculum Plan (1998) which created identity, and was strongly value-based. However, the statements of values and principles were not organised in such a way as to make impact evaluation easy to structure. Through thematic content analysis, the curriculum intentions expressed in broad statements throughout the curriculum plan were grouped into three generic conceptual areas: identity, values and thinking skills. The overall evaluation question to be explored could then be framed as: *To what extent is the curriculum beginning to have its intended impact on the learners in terms of identity, values, and thinking skills?*

Nine purposively sampled schools across the Occupied Palestinian Territories were visited. Observations of classroom communication and interaction in 40 different lessons in 10 different subjects were reciprocally triangulated against the discourses from interviews and focus group discussions with learners, teachers and parents, and education managers and administrators.

In terms of identity and values the evidence of the data was remarkably unambiguous. The learners were developing a strong sense of identity anchored in being a member of a Palestinian family, and their own culture, history and geography. Integrated in their identity were strongly-held values based in Islamic beliefs, including i.e. tolerance, reconciliation, faith in God, and acceptable behaviour. The way they expressed their values was distinctly other-related rather than ego-centred or individualistic. In focus group discussions, the learners showed a high level of competence in communication and social skills for their age, the ability to deal with complex issues through analysis and synthesis, and to handle dilemmas, and they also demonstrated mature emotional intelligence. The very strong support for the curriculum from the educational community and Palestinian society at large was undoubtedly a key causal factor in promoting its impact. The factors constraining impact were found to be content overload in the curriculum limiting the use of learner-centred methodologies, compounded by an incomplete transition to learner-centred teaching due to teachers' pedagogical habits and "comfort zones".

In the values area of co-operation and peace, the evaluation found that the learners (all but one) had a genuine desire for a peacefully negotiated resolution to the occupation and the Israel-Palestine conflict, even though they saw that dialogue had not produced results. The researchers challenged this view in various ways in the discussions, but the learners did not modify their stance, nor did they answer parrot-fashion. Nonetheless, parents and teachers raised the problem of the harsh constraints of reality compared to curriculum intentions. Their children are subjected to daily violence and state terrorism by the occupation forces and settlers, so how can they take the teachers and textbooks seriously, when their reality is so different?

Although it was only one of many issues discussed in the report, the finding of the evaluation team when it came to co-operation and peace was lifted out of its context into a longer-standing curriculum struggle where the Palestinian curriculum had been constantly accused (originally from a self-gestalted NGO with a Zionist perspective) of incitement to hatred of Jews and of Israel. The accusations were repeated at various intervals, and spread worldwide into the American and European foreign ministries and parliaments by an extremely strong Zionist lobbying network, and were even uncritically adopted by Christian fundamentalist lobbyists.

A range of studies vindicated the Palestinian curriculum, but retractions and modifications by the NGO from whom the accusations originated were not spread through the lobby network. The issue was heard by the political committee of the European Parliament and in a Senate hearing in the USA, both of which found the accusations groundless. Offers for independent comparisons of textbooks from both Palestine and Israel were not accepted by Israel. Later studies have also come to the same conclusion of non-incitement (Reiss 2004; UNESCO 2006 inc. Bibliography).

The impact evaluation found that values were contested within Palestine as well. Although there was very strong support by the Palestinian community for the new curriculum, many were very critical of omissions in Palestinian history and geography. For such parents, the curriculum was not promoting Palestinian values strongly enough and was seen as a compromise in relation to Israel. In addition, fundamentalist Islamic theologians found the curriculum to be not only anti-Palestinian but even anti-Islamic.

Who Is Entitled to Have a Voice in a National Curriculum?

By looking at the deeper level of values, the evaluation of the classroom impact of the Palestinian curriculum was thus drawn beyond the discourse of the logical framework into a sphere of national, regional and international contestation over the curriculum, raising questions of who is entitled to have a voice in a national curriculum (including textbooks) – only those within a nation, or those outside

as well? If outside voices are allowed to have a voice, should one demand that their national curricula and textbooks be open to reciprocal treatment? Although Palestine submitted its textbooks for international scrutiny, Israel refused to submit its textbooks to equal scrutiny.

The question is also raised by this example, of which perspectives should be allowed to dominate the discussion – extremist or moderate – and who is able to facilitate the discussion. In a national curriculum process without outside interference, a curriculum institute or ministry directorate is empowered with the task. If compromises are coerced or supported from outside by superpowers, or funding agencies on whom the country concerned is totally dependent, or in this case, an occupying power, yet another fundamental question can be raised - Whose curriculum is it, in reality? As the impact study found, some Palestinians were raising this question themselves.

Evaluation of the Swiss Pestalozzi Children's Foundation International Programme

The limitations of a project cycle management discourse and approach in relation to the values dimension was even more evident in the external evaluation of the Swiss Pestalozzi Children's Foundation international programme. The Pestalozzi Children's Foundation is a third-generation NGO (Korten 1987, 1990) promoting intercultural understanding and children's rights. Its international programme operates in three neighbouring countries in each of four regions: South East Asia (Burma, Laos, and Thailand); Central America (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras); East Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Tanzania); and South Eastern Europe (Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia).

The Pestalozzi Children's Foundation international programme is designed, monitored and evaluated according to project cycle management procedures, and this is where two contrasting discourses clash. On the one side is the idealism and value stance of the Foundation itself and its emphasis on the empowerment of children and young people, using all five strategies identified by Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen (1999). The other discourse is that of efficiency through management by objectives. The challenge for the external evaluation was to find a way of adding the value dimension to a project cycle management model, and to explore any indications of emerging impact.

As with the Palestinian curriculum, the Foundation's background documentation contains many idealistic and value statements, but not structured in such a way as to facilitate the evaluation of what is most important for them. Ironically, the discourse of the Foundation was too far from the project cycle management discourse for the evaluation, and the two had to be reconciled. It was therefore necessary to

paraphrase various statements into a key objective from which the guiding question for the evaluation could be derived:

In what ways, and to what extent, is the ultimate beneficiary becoming self-reliant, and living according to intercultural understanding and positive values?

It does not make sense to talk of measuring i.e. the efficiency and effectiveness of a project in relation to "... *living according to intercultural understanding and positive values*". To evaluate such things, one has to look at intensity, depth and meaning of learning experienced by the children/young people, which is at the deeper level of impact in the sense given previously. Methods were therefore developed to elicit the deeper level of appropriation of values including using imaging through drawings or tableaux, followed up immediately with the children's own reflections on their images orally or in written text, in order to elicit their awareness and understanding of their experience. The visual/dramatic and oral/written textual material was then reviewed by the consultant using thematic content analysis.

In the course of the evaluation, it was found that not all projects were intercultural in nature, of contextual necessity. In some it is a central and explicit theme, such as intercultural education for the Roma minorities as well as the dominant ethnic groups in Romania, Serbia and Macedonia. In others, promoting education through the medium of the mother tongue is the vehicle of empowerment though interculturality, such as with indigenous Indian groups in Central America. In Burma and Laos, the vehicle is the promotion of mother tongue instruction and learner-centred methodology. In Ethiopia and Eritrea, it is not possible to tackle interculturality at all, and the projects for the time being focus on improving access and quality to formal and alternative basic education, including gender equity. The one unifying intended outcome across all projects is that of empowerment for a self-reliant life.

The great majority of the 32 project reports show that there are clear indications that this outcome is actually being achieved in terms of emerging impact, raising the question of how the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation is adding value compared to other development paradigms (such as a sector-wide approach).

The Pestalozzi Children's Foundation invites potential operating partners with a certain level of capacity in the selected countries and who share the same value base, to submit a concept paper for a project partnership. The Foundation thus builds a certain level of efficiency and effectiveness into its approach and procedures with the successful NGO or in exceptional cases, the Duty Holder of Child Rights (e.g. a central or local education authority). They are then supported in their function in relation to the ultimate beneficiaries. The other stakeholders are the private and public funders of the Foundation as a whole or specifically the international

programmes, who in turn are willing to support the values which the Foundation stands for.

Three things appear to be crucial to the success at the values level: the clear thematic focus; the relatively small scale of the projects; and the commitment and idealism shown at all levels, from the Foundation in Switzerland, through to teachers/facilitators. This stands in stark contrast to attempts at educational reform by a public bureaucracy. In the few cases where a project has been only moderately or not successful, it is because of a breakdown in the “values chain” either at the level of the operational partner or the teacher trainer.

By including the values dimension of children’s rights, interculturality, and empowerment in the evaluation, the discussion of the worth of the Pestalozzi Children’s Foundation international programme shifts to another level, and places it centrally in the public discussion of development. What values is development aid really about? What doublespeak can be unmasked through comparison with organisations which have an explicit and consistent value stance? How can values- and rights-based development aid be efficient and effective?

Conclusion

Much development aid in education engages in the rhetoric of improving access and quality and measures this in terms of indicators such as enrolment, progression and completion rates, teacher/learner ratios, textbook/learner ratios, teacher formal qualifications. This sort of instrumentalism completely ignores the debate about the reproduction of cultural capital and power structures in educational systems. It assumes that literacy and numeracy are relevant in themselves, and ignores the discussion about what content and values are conveyed in the official and hidden curriculum, or contested in curriculum appropriation.

The two examples presented in this article were exceptions to conventional project evaluations. In the first case, the impact and appropriation of the value-base of a national curriculum was evaluated as a measure of the efficacy and justifiability of donor support to the development of the curriculum. In the second case, tracking the emerging impact of values from the originating agency through to the ultimate beneficiary shows a dimension normally lost when a logical framework is used as a template for evaluation. In both cases, it was the voices and discourse of the children/young people which brought the added dimension to evaluation (Avenstrup, et al 2001, Avenstrup, 2008).

In neither case was it possible to conduct the evaluation completely as intended. The classroom impact evaluation of the Palestinian curriculum was severely hampered by restrictions on the freedom of movement imposed by the Israeli Defense Force. The extent of the evaluation was thus limited, and longer discussions and follow-

up were impossible. In the case of the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation, there was insufficient time to go deeper into the responses and discourse of the beneficiaries. The richness which an evaluation can elicit has been shown in the evaluation of the Life Science project in Namibia (van Harmelen et al, 2001, van Harmelen, 2003), where IBIS was prepared to invest the time and resources needed to explore new approaches to understanding what is of worth in development projects, and what frameworks for evaluation need to be developed.

If curriculum evaluation is to be of greater value, we need to move beyond the quick fix of testing and assert a discourse of the intensity, depth and meaning of learning, especially in the values dimension. If evaluation of development aid is itself to be of greater value, we need to move beyond the quick fix of the logical framework and assert a discourse of value issues in the sphere of public debate, for better or worse. In both cases, fundamental re-e-value-ation of evaluation itself is needed.

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THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN OTHER COLONIAL CONTEXTS

LANGUAGE, LITERACY AND SOCIAL EQUITY IN INDIAN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

By Caroline Dyer⁶⁹

Introduction

Many claims are made for the importance of literacy to human development. While the evidence may be somewhat less robust than it appears (Rose and Dyer 2006), particularly in relation to women's literacy (Jeffery and Basu 1996), international evidence suggests that many schools are not delivering either enough, or the right kind of, literacy to enable development (UNESCO 1999). A socially situated perspective on the acquisition of literacy that is useful for development recognises that alphabetisation of each individual takes place within wider socio-political, language and economic contexts. Paran and Williams (2007: 2) point out that while research into social practices of literacy in developing countries is increasing (e.g. Street 1995) it is in these same contexts that "fundamental research into reading is relatively scarce".

In India, research on literacy acquisition is dominated by work on English rather than regional languages; a focus on the pedagogical implications of acquisition of literacy in Indian languages is rare (but see Nag 2007, Patel 2004, Mishra and Stainthorp 2007). Much remains to be learned about the links between local languages and literacy learning at school, and their roles in promoting social equity – a key Indian educational policy goal. This chapter reflects on these issues, drawing in part on empirical findings of field work begun in 2008 to investigate this issue in 51 government schools in the District of Jaipur in Rajasthan, northern India.

This chapter also reflects on debates familiar from the African context - questions of whose language literacy should be provided in, and how "literacy" should be measured. Birgit Brock-Utne's (2007a) discussion of these contentious issues for example refers to a problematic stance reflected in an article on "illiteracy" in Sierra Leone, where Kingsley Banya (1993) writes:

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Only about 25% of the country's population were (in 1961) literate in English, which is the official language. However, most people are literate in Krio, which is the lingua franca of the country. in absolute numbers there has been a tremendous expansion in the number of illiterates. As the population has increased, the number of literate people has not kept pace; 85 out of every 100 Sierra Leones are now illiterate (Banya 1993:163, cit Brock-Utne, 2007a; see also Brock-Utne, 2009).

To term Sierra Leones who cannot write and read English illiterate, even though they may read and write Krio, the lingua franca of their country, is a curious analysis. A more plausible alternative is discussed by Casimir Rubagumya (1991, cit Brock-Utne 2007a), whose discussion of language promotion for educational purposes in Africa argues that the enormous increase in Tanzania's post-independence literacy rate would not have been possible had Tanzania not had a common national language, Kiswahili, which everybody could understand. By his definition, literacy is the ability to read and write in *any* language, in this case an African lingua franca. The complexities of linking languages spoken to judgements about literacy, and how this is measured, familiar to those familiar with the debates in Africa (exemplified in example in Birgit Brock-Utne's work) find many reflections in the Indian context discussed here.

Language and Literacy Contexts

The 1961 Census found that India is home to some 1,652 languages belonging to five distinct language families (Abbi 2004). Twenty-nine of those are each spoken by over a million people (Census 2001); and 22 are listed in the Indian Constitution under the Eighth Schedule (UNESCO, 2008; see Fig. 1). Article 350A of the Constitution states that the primary education must be in the mother tongue of the pupil (Vishwanathan 2001).

In such a multilingual context, the language in which education should take place is a complex question to which a workable solution needs to be found. Educational provision follows multi-lingual policy that was outlined in 1952, revised in 1961 and given the name the 'Three Language Formula' (TLF); and modified again by the 1964-66 Education Commission (see Sridhar, 1996 for detail). The TLF has been endorsed by the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) (2005) and consists of: mother language or regional language; an official language, either Hindi or English; and another modern language, Indian or foreign (UNESCO 2008).

Table 1 The Official Languages of India (According to the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution)

Assamese	Hindi	Malayalam	Punjabi	Telugu
Bengali	Kannada	Meitei	Sanskrit	Urdu
Bodo	Kashmiri	Marathi	Santhali	
Dogri	Konkani	Nepali	Sindhi	
Gujarati	Maithili	Oriya	Tamil	

Hindi, promoted as a national link language, is a constitutionally scheduled language (see Fig. 1) and as such officially subsumes more than 47 languages. However, as Abbi (2004: 2) explains, "The policy of listing a select few languages as Scheduled and embracing a large number of languages under the umbrella of one of the Scheduled languages created an arbitrary cleavage between major and minor languages". This has important implications not only for the survival of 'minor' languages but also for their use in education.

In **the State of Rajasthan**, Hindi is widely spoken and is, controversially, the official language of the State. Rajasthani (spoken by some 36 million people, according to CoI 2001) is officially – and controversially - considered a minor language of Hindi; and Rajasthani itself is a collective name for a cluster of 18 languages (Gordon, 2005). For educational purposes, the TLF only offers a choice from among the languages included in the Eighth Schedule, so although it intended to provide a framework that embraces regional languages, it does not take into account the non-dominant minor languages of the region (Abbi 2004). In Rajasthan, the TLF formula is as shown in Table 1.

Table 2: The TLF in Rajasthan

Language	Year
Hindi	1 - 10
English	6 - 10
Sanskrit /Urdu/Sindhi/Bengali/Gujarati/ Punjabi/Malayalam/ Tamil or any other language of the VIII Schedule	6 - 10

Source: Adapted from Viswanatham (2001)

This means that while the 1992 right to instruction in mother tongue is recognised, in practice the languages spoken by very large numbers of people – not just linguistic minorities - are excluded by the formula. In the project area for example, four languages are used: Hindi, Rajasthani, Dhundhadi and Marwari; but the formula reduces this to a single "language" which does not reflect the daily realities of large numbers of children.

UNESCO (2003: 16) reminds us that "Language is not only a tool for communication and knowledge but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and the group". The exclusion from educational use of some languages suggests that they are useful only in the home domain and lack social status. Since language use and knowledge are inextricably entwined, this in turn suggests that knowledge articulated in an unvalidated language may not be seen as knowledge that is useful to schooling. This raises many questions about which, and whose, knowledge becomes prioritised as that which contributes to "development" – and indeed, the purpose of such development if it serves to promote social homogeneity, rather than embracing diversity.

Inequitable provision of quality schooling and pervasive social discrimination (Vasavi 2003) subliminally also question the legitimacy of the claims of disadvantaged, many of whom are also "minority" language speakers, to be included in the state's education project.

Literacy trends, despite overall improvements since 1991 (Govinda and Biswal, 2005⁷⁰), reflect this, with lower achievements by women in general; these are yet lower among the disadvantaged social groups (many of whom are Scheduled Tribes with their own languages); and lowest of all among the women of those groups (see Table 2). Literacy's acknowledged role in development suggests that the role of language discrimination in these literacy trends should merit more detailed investigation than it has received so far.

Table 3: Literacy rates in India, Census 2001 (per cent)

	Literacy rate	Male	<i>Female</i>
National	64.84	75.96	54.16
Rajasthan	61.03	76.46	44.34
Scheduled Caste+ (17.2% of Rajasthan's population)	52.2	69.00	33.87
Scheduled Tribe++ (12. 6% of Rajasthan's population)	44.7	62.1*	26.2**

* Up from 19.4 per cent in the 1991 census, a gain of 25.3 percentage points.

** An increase from 4.4 per cent in 1991.

+ and ++: These are official designations applied to identified groups listed in Constitutional Schedules as thus entitled to protection by the state.

Sources: Census of India (2001), CoI Rajasthan (2001a) and (2001b)

⁷⁰ 2001 Indian Census measurement of literacy was controversial (Mathew, 2005). The Census definition of literacy is "to read and write with ability any language" but no guidelines were issued to enumerators in assessing how a household interpreted "literate". Literacy of anyone aged 7 years or above was measured but enrolment in Std. 2 served as a proxy for literacy (Mehta n.d.) – an even more problematic use of the proxy than the more common figure of five years of schooling (UNESCO 2006).

Indian Government Schools and Social Equity

Since Independence, despite experiments with curricula and much improved access (for sedentary populations), state schooling has struggled with quality. Rapid expansion of the private sector, responding to market demand for better schools and English medium education, has left the government as virtually the only provider of education for socially marginalised groups. Children from the SC and ST groups comprise 20.84 per cent and 9.71 per cent respectively of the total children in elementary education, but there is a disproportionate concentration in state schools of children from the ST, SC, and "Other Backward Caste" groups (DISE,2004); and girls.

Sinha (cit APF 2004: 5) argues that the withdrawal of more vocal and powerful elite groups is linked with further decline of state schools into non-performing and non-accountable entities, which are almost "synonymous with disadvantage" (Sarangapani and Kumar 2005).

Various learner achievement studies conducted in such schools since the 1980s show mean achievement rates in Years 4-5 as 'unacceptably low' (APF 2004: 11) at between 40 - 51 per cent (see APF 2004 for full detail).

While these findings are worrying, learning is officially measured by tests which, because they are standardised, are seen as fair and objective (Aggarwal, 2001; APF, 2004) despite the contexts of considerable socio-linguistic heterogeneity in which they are administered. Tests designed for the context and administered by the project team revealed similarly low learner achievements but an upward trend in Year 5, where children's work showed little of the 'interference' (in the form of vocabulary and spellings) from the local languages that was evident in Years One and Two.

It is not difficult to hypothesise that low literacy achievements must also contribute to poor learner retention statistics: up to half of children enrolled in Year One have left by the end of Year Five (e.g. UNESCO 2006) – before schooling can contribute significantly to the upward socio-economic mobility and social transformation envisaged in educational policy.

In the wider context, Ramachandran (2004) identifies *a crisis of teacher education* in India. Here, as in other contexts where teachers have low entry qualifications, pre-service training focuses largely on improving students' subject content, and much less on pedagogy. Dyer et al. (2004) found that language work focuses on filling the gap between students' own L varieties and a "correct" version of H Hindi. How to handle the pedagogical implications of children's spoken (L) varieties and the linguistic diversity of typical Indian classrooms remains largely unaddressed. Dyer (2008) reports that classroom teachers who have not been able to gain the theoretical knowledge needed to analyse children's successes and failures with reading and writing, and the links with language practices, tend to invoke explanations instead

in terms of intellect. This is a challenge to equitable socio-economic development, because teachers who share the dominant view of government schools as the last resort tend to conflate low intelligence with socio-economic disadvantage (Dyer 2008).

While the language of the immediate social context appears to be perceived more as a constraint than as a resource for teachers (Palfreyman 2006), there may also be undercurrents of pragmatism, if not exactly resistance, towards linguistic hegemony. Teachers in the project sample wanted the research team to report that they use Rajasthani or Hindi, but they do mostly use Dhundhadi as the language of instruction. This is an ad hoc, covert practice by teachers trying to reconcile gaps in language policy with socio-linguistic realities; but it is done to facilitate children's acquisition of the dominant language, not in order to validate and use within a school context the language and knowledge of subaltern groups. Echoes of a similar practice are found among teachers in Tanzanian secondary schools, who often switch to Kiswahili when they teach even though they are supposed to teach in English (see Brock-Utne 2007b).

Conclusion

Language use in educational contexts such as those described here contributes to a continuing marginalisation of children of the most socio-economically disadvantaged groups. Tests demonstrate poor achievements, but surely the unspoken part of what they measure is the general inability of such schools to provide appropriate "opportunit[ies] to learn" (Gee, 2007: 8). Poor achievements, early drop out and inconsistent policy and practice responses to the linguistic and cultural knowledge of children who do not enjoy socio-economic privilege all point to ways in which schooling, unfortunately, is complicit in sustaining socio-economic disadvantage.

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SCIENCE EDUCATION AND ENGLISH MEDIUM: *THE SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCE*

By Lakshman K. Wedikkarage

Introduction

Sri Lanka introduced her local languages, Sinhala and Tamil as languages of instruction in education even before having obtained independence from Britain in 1948. Steps were taken to introduce these languages as media of instruction in all primary schools in 1945, secondary schools in 1953 and at universities in 1960. Local educationists argue that the change of medium of instruction from English to local languages enabled the majority of students to learn science subjects in their mother tongue, nullifying the previous belief that studying these subjects in English would be an advantage.

However, the educational authorities in Sri Lanka in 2001 reintroduced English as a medium of instruction for science classes at collegiate level (Grades 12 and 13), also known as General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (G.C.E.A/L), in certain selected schools. This chapter critically analyses the discourses that led to a reverse in language of instruction for G.C.E. A/L science classes in certain selected schools at a time when such subjects are comfortably being taught in local languages.

Background

By 1940 two tiers of education existed in Sri Lanka. The private fee-paying schools at both primary, and tertiary level used English as the medium of instruction and drew children from rich and affluent families. The primary government schools imparted education in vernaculars to students from ordinary families who could not afford to pay for their education. This policy had become a barrier for local languages to be developed to a higher academic level as they were used only at the primary education level. Furthermore, it had led the country into social disparities. While those who received education in English had every opportunity for lucrative employment, those who received education in the local languages were confined to less aspiring jobs, and the very best of them could become either a vernacular school teacher, a notary or a native physician (Dharmadasa 1996). Moreover, opportunities for higher education and access to science education were also confined to a small elite group that studied in the English medium. Only 7 per cent of the native population was considered literate in English and it was this small group of the native population

that received opportunities for upward mobility denied the less fortunate members of society (Jayasuriya 1979). Thus by mid-1940s, the British educational system had created great disparities among the Sri Lankans in terms of equity and access. It was with this background in mind that the local authorities decided to introduce what may be looked at as revolutionary changes in the education system of Sri Lanka (Jayasuriya 1969).

The authorities observed that in addition to school fees, it was the medium of instruction that had been a barrier to obtaining knowledge in science-related courses as well as in higher education. It was, therefore, decided that the local languages be developed and used at all levels beyond the primary stage in education. Accordingly, acts were passed to provide free education in Sinhala and Tamil at all levels of education in all government schools. Amidst considerable opposition from the elite groups, the proponents of the free education policy were also able to introduce the vernaculars as languages of instruction in *all* primary schools in 1945, secondary schools in 1953 and at the universities in 1960 (Little 1996). This implementation made it possible to teach science subjects in local languages in secondary schools all over the island, and soon people began to understand that it was not necessary to use English as the language of instruction to benefit from science education (Ranaweera 1976). As a result, everybody, rich or poor, got equal opportunities to study science subjects from grade six to collegiate level (G.C.E: A/L) before they sought university admission.

Today, whilst Sri Lanka enjoys a literacy rate of 91 per cent (the highest in South Asia and one of the best in developing countries), it can also boast of hundred percent participation rates in primary education. In addition to the increased life expectancy in general, Sri Lanka is the only country in South Asia that is not considered a low income country (Dicken 2003). Secondary education including science education, which among girls only a privileged minority from affluent families had enjoyed, is now available for one-third of all rural girls (Jayaweera 2002). The teaching of science subjects in local languages made the teaching of health science much easier, especially for rural students. Studying scientific subjects in schools is of particular importance for any developing country as part of national and human resource development. Science education results in a better informed society in terms of hygiene, environment and technology, improving the quality of life of the people. In short, the mother tongue medium policy in Sri Lanka has contributed remarkably to the development process of the country.

Many issues in developing countries are directly linked to education. Literacy is still by and large considered as a key indicator of development. Yet, in the African context, if one cannot read and write the official language, which is often a foreign language, one is deemed illiterate no matter how literate one is in one's mother tongue (Banya 1993 cited by Brock-Utne 2007). If the language of the majority of people is not used for the purpose of teaching science subjects it further adds to the under

development. While countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are struggling to use their local languages as media of instruction beyond the primary stage of education, analysts point out the case of Sri Lanka as truly noteworthy. Therefore, understanding the driving forces that led to the reintroduction of English as a medium of instruction for G.C.E. A/L science classes in certain selected schools in Sri Lanka, is interesting for those involved in language policy analysis.

Science Education and English

English is rapidly making a comeback as a medium of instruction in secondary and higher education in countries such as Sri Lanka and Malaysia, which both opted to use their local languages after they gained independence from Britain. English is considered to be the most desired language in the academic circles and at international conferences. While English is used as the corporate language of big business, it is being increasingly used as a medium of instruction in higher education in many countries in the EU (Phillipson 2001). English has recently “made inroads into academic teaching even in France and Germany”, countries which have earlier shown no sympathy for English in science and academia (Ammon and McConnell 2002: 23).⁷¹

In South America, English is increasingly becoming the language of science textbooks. In 1991, English was chosen as the language of the journal *Science and Culture* which is the official journal for the Brazilian scientific association (Pavia and Pagano 2001).

In the Japanese context the discourse of *kokusaika* (internationalization) has made the term “English” synonymous with ‘foreign language, paying little or no consideration for other international languages in Japan (Kubota, 2002).

In Sri Lanka, despite significant achievements in education as a result of using indigenous languages as media of instruction, recent years have seen an increased debate about the use of English as a medium of instruction, initially to teach G.C.E. A/L science subjects in public schools. One of the primary reasons that propelled the authorities to reintroduce English as a medium of instruction at this level was the assumption that science is best learnt in English. Discourses such as “English is the language of Globalization”, “English is the language of science and technology” have given momentum to such thinking. The idea that it is easier to teach science subjects in English medium was also part of such discourses. The unavailability of an opportunity to study in English medium in public schools (which the private schools offer) was considered a deprivation of a fundamental right of the students who wish to do so (De Mel 2003). Furthermore, the knowledge of English of the school leavers was found to be inadequate for the purposes of employment where a

⁷¹ Two articles in this book on the situation in the Nordic countries show that even here English is becoming a threat to the Nordic languages as academic languages., especially within the sciences.

good knowledge of English would be required. According to the school authorities, this prompted school leavers to seek assistance of private English tutors whose competence to teach English was inferior.

A major objective of the reintroduction of English as a medium of instruction for G.C.E. (A/L) science classes was in reality to improve English language competence of students. It was decided to introduce English as medium of instruction at the G.C.E. level as it is the main exit point for students before they either go for tertiary education or employment. At the same time the number of schools that offered A/L science subjects was less than those that offered Arts and Commerce streams. Therefore, it was assumed that teaching science subjects at G.C.E. A/L was a manageable affair.

The idea that English medium will lead to improved English competence of the G.C.E. (A/L) science students emerges as a central unsubstantiated belief compared to all the other objectives. In Sri Lanka, a country where science teaching has taken place for nearly 40 years in the local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, it is difficult to find teachers who are willing and competent to teach such subjects in English. Although science graduates have been exposed to some English during their university education, this exposure is hardly enough to teach these subjects at G.C.E. (A/L) in English. Furthermore, these teachers have taught in their mother tongue ever since the beginning of their career as teachers. An immediate switch to the English language will put them in a difficult situation. According to many students, most of these teachers resort to either Sinhala or Tamil when they cannot properly explain their lessons in English. According to the same students, the teachers were far more effective presenting their subject matter when they taught in their mother tongue (Wedikkarage 2006).

Certain factors concerning the manner in which the reintroduction of English medium to G.C.E. A/L science classes happened prove that this move was taken not as a response to a demand by students, but purely as an authoritative and administrative decision ignoring the practical issues which would result in the long run.

Generally, when admitting students to G.C.E. A/L science classes in privileged government schools, a very strict procedure is adhered to. Since the demand for these schools is very high, only the very best students having top grades in the G.C.E. O/L examination are selected. However, in order to fill up the English medium classes this strict selection mechanism was relaxed for students who promised to study A/L science subjects in English medium. Many of these students soon experienced that they could not study these subjects in English medium and sought permission to go back to mother tongue medium, creating administrative problems in schools.

Furthermore, students studying in international schools preparing for London A/L and Cambridge examinations were given free admission to the above public schools as these selected schools needed a credible number of English medium students. These students later revealed that they opted to enter such public schools not to

improve their English language competence, but to study free of charge and get a good score at the local A/L examination which ensured them a place in a public university, where education is once again free (Wedikkarage 2006).

Thus, the reintroduction of English medium to the G.C.E. A/L science classes in 2001 apparently did not bring about the desired outcomes. Many of the students who opted to study in English medium eventually went back to the mother tongue medium after they learnt that neither they nor their teachers were comfortable in using English as the medium of instruction.

It is difficult to understand where the belief comes from that science is better learnt in English than in other languages and that “English is the language of science and technology”. The case of Sri Lanka proved beyond doubt that teaching in English and even a knowledge of English is not essential to learn science subjects. Veteran Sri Lankan educationists believe that the two local languages have developed academically to a level which is unchallenged today. From the point of a resurgent nation, the transition from English to local languages as the media of instruction for science subjects:

helped to destroy the great barrier that existed between the privileged English educated class and the non-English educated deprived classes; between the science educated elite and non-science educated masses; between science itself and people. It gave confidence to the common man that science is within his reach and to the teachers and pupils that a knowledge of English need not necessarily be a pre-requisite for learning science (Ranaweera 1976: 423).

It is also illogical to use science teachers to develop the English language competence of their students. Science teachers are not language teachers. Research elsewhere has shown that English as medium of instruction does not necessarily lead to English language competence (Brock-Utne 2000).

The G.C.E. A/L Examination is a highly competitive examination which determines whether a student can secure a place in a public university in Sri Lanka. When taking part in such a competitive examination, the primary objective of students is to pass it with maximum marks in order to keep their university admission dream alive. Logic implies that students want to pass the examination in the medium in which they are most fluent. Students do, however, also want to improve their English language skills, that are undoubtedly essential for higher education and employment. But they do not want to gamble with the G.C.E. A/L Examination for that purpose.

The assumption that science is best learnt and should be learnt in English naturally creates a feeling of anguish among those who study arts and commerce subjects.

It appears that the authorities tried to reintroduce English as medium in the Sri Lankan education system, without properly surveying the present educational needs

of the G.C.E. A/L students. There is a high demand for English as an important global language today, both from parents and students. Yet, there is hardly any demand for English medium education in science.

The failure of the educational authorities to teach English effectively as a second language has been used as a pretence to reintroduce English medium in the public school system in Sri Lanka. What is required in the Sri Lankan context is not to go back to English medium, as the two local languages have been effectively used in the provision of education, but for students to learn English as a global language effectively. Most private sector employers do not demand job seekers to have studied in English medium. What the private sector requires are people with a good knowledge of English.

Conclusion

The pressure for English as the medium of instruction and making English education compulsory is high in Sri Lanka at the moment. More recently, the educational authorities allowed schools to start English medium classes from grade six onwards. This means, those who are sitting G.C.E. O/L Examination can now do so in English. In addition to this, circular 2008/17⁷² issued by the Ministry of Education of Sri Lanka has made English a compulsory subject for G.C.E O/L (Grade 11) students who are studying in the mother tongue medium. The government has declared 2009 the year of Information, Technology and English. These moves have already created heated debates among both intellectuals and the general public who are concerned about the welfare of disadvantaged groups, having little or no access to studies in English.

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SIGN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

By Arnfinn Muruvik Vonen

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to explore the application of the idea of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) to sign languages. After a brief discussion of deafness as a disability and Deaf communities as cultural-linguistic minorities, and some background information about sign languages, I will first discuss the relationships between the sign languages of the former colonial powers and that the sign languages of the former colonies. Then I will proceed to look at the relationships between spoken languages and sign languages as yet another instantiation of linguistic imperialism.

Looking at Deaf Communities in Two Very Different Ways

There are at least two very different ways of looking at deaf/Deaf people:

- as (groups of) disabled people, comparable to blind people; and
- as linguistic-cultural communities comparable to other indigenous and migrant minority communities found throughout the world.

These two perspectives (or constructions) oppose each other in a deep sense. In the disability perspective, deafness is seen as a deficit, a challenge and a problem to be overcome. In the linguistic-cultural perspective, according to which there is sensory *difference* rather than deficit, being Deaf (often spelt with a capital D, following the English-language convention for referring to cultural groups) is seen as a resource, and sign language is, for many, the clearest manifestation of this resource.

Historically, the disability perspective has been the stronger perspective in the sense that it has dominated books, curricula and so on. At the same time, it is clearly an outsider's perspective on the community, based on the hearing person's recognition of the deaf person's lack of hearing. As societies change their general concept of disability from a medical to a social perspective, attention is paid not only to individual remedies for the lack of hearing (e.g. providing hearing aids), but also to interventions to reduce the social necessity of hearing (e.g. making public information accessible through sign language).

The linguistic-cultural perspective, on the other hand, is more of an insider's perspective, since the sense of belonging to the Deaf community is hard to observe and appreciate for someone who has not experienced it.

In real life, developing an individual Deaf identity (“Deaf in my own way”, cf. Ohna 2004; a Deaf identity “in the making”, cf. Breivik 2005) may involve finding a viable compromise between the perspectives. Branson and Miller (2002) offer a thorough, critical historical analysis of the disability of deaf people as a cultural construction. In this article, which deals with sign languages more than with the sense of hearing, it is mainly the linguistic-cultural perspective on the Deaf community that is relevant.

Sign Languages

Based on work starting with the American linguist William C. Stokoe’s groundbreaking study, half a century ago, of the structure of what is now known as American Sign Language (Stokoe 1960), linguists now generally agree that sign languages are full-fledged languages in every important sense. The only fundamental difference between sign languages and spoken languages is in the physical channel (also known as “mode” or “modality”) – sign languages are “visual-gestural” rather than “auditory-vocal” languages. Many sign languages have been influenced in parts of their vocabularies and structures by the spoken languages which surround them, but they have not evolved historically from spoken languages. Rather, they have evolved out of whatever visually accessible forms of communication were available in a community where deaf children were first brought together to grow up in each other’s company.

All known sign languages that function as young children’s first language are connected to a community of language users with a hearing impairment, although Deaf people’s hearing family members (including their own hearing children) and friends, and professionals working with the Deaf community, may also be more or less proficient in the language.

Like most other linguistic minorities, sign language communities are bi- or multilingual in their sign language and the spoken and, possibly, written language(s) of the surrounding greater society. The limited access to the majority language(s) caused by the hearing impairment distinguishes Deaf people’s bimodal bilingualism from other kinds of bilingualism. Normally or partially hearing children growing up with a sign language usually acquire the local spoken language(s) simultaneously. The extent to which hearing children of signing Deaf parents become fluent signers, depends on the attitudes and expectations they encounter in their environment. Because of these variations, it is often hard to distinguish between first and second language acquisition in children who acquire a sign language and a spoken language (a phenomenon known from other multilingual situations, cf. Brock-Utne 2009).

The modality difference also makes possible some peculiar language contact phenomena. In particular, it implies the possibility of unique kinds of language mixing involving simultaneously producing elements of a spoken language (with

one's vocal organs) and elements of a sign language (with one's hands, eyebrows, and so on).

Linguistic Imperialism

Phillipson (1992: 47) defines “English linguistic imperialism” as follows: “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages”. The term “structural” refers to “material properties (for example, institutions, financial allocations)”, while “cultural” refers to “immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogic principles)” (ibid.). He develops his theory of linguistic imperialism in order to critically analyse the role of English in former colonies in colonial and post-colonial times. For the purposes of the present article, we may assume that inequalities between languages linked to the school system are indeed instances of linguistic imperialism, since schools are important carriers and symbols of both “structure” and “culture”.

This is not the place to present Phillipson's theory in full. One particularly telling part of imperialist rhetoric that he points out in his book, is the following set of tenets or “fallacies” of English language teaching (Phillipson 1992: 185):

- The monolingual fallacy: “English is best taught monolingually”.
- The native speaker fallacy: “The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker”.
- The early start fallacy: “The earlier English is taught the better the results”.
- The subtractive fallacy: “If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop”.

We will see later that such points of view are not at all alien to discussions involving sign languages.

Linguistic Imperialism Involving Sign Languages Only

Branson and Miller (2002) identify linguistic imperialism among sign languages and analyse this phenomenon as rooted in nationalism, or more precisely in the pressure on defining sign language in national terms. Further:

For many leaders of Deaf communities at national and international levels, the assertion of deaf unity at the political level glosses over the cultural and linguistic differences, often giving rise to an unconscious linguistic and cultural imperialism on the part of the dominant Deaf communities. This dynamic has been particularly apparent in the spread of Western educational programs throughout Asia, Africa, and the Pacific (Branson and Miller 2002: 243).

European and North American missionaries and others founded the first schools for the deaf in many African countries after World War II. Some of these schools were oral (i.e. based on the use of spoken language only in the classroom), others allowed or even encouraged signing to take place to a larger or lesser degree. As described by Kiyaga and Moores (2003), it has been noted that these foreign workers tended to use their own sign languages rather than indigenous signs. The influence from foreign sign languages can be clearly seen in many places today, for example, elements from American Sign Language in a number of African sign languages.

Little is known, however, about the Deaf communities in these countries prior to the establishment of the first schools, and in particular, about the extent to which indigenous sign languages existed previously and were subject to linguistic imperialism. At least in some places, indigenous sign languages may have existed, and these languages may have been devalued and/or ignored by the well-intending school-founders. It should also be mentioned that, in many countries, it is still only a minority of deaf children that go to school at all.

Linguistic Imperialism Involving Spoken Languages and Sign Languages

While the imperialist devaluation of spoken languages is exemplified by using terms like “dialect” instead of “language” (Phillipson 1992), the non-acceptance of sign languages was more profound, due to universal ignorance of their linguistic nature until Stokoe’s work (cf. above) became widely known.

Another factor contributing to the devaluation of sign languages is their peculiar pattern of inter-generational transmission. The vast majority of deaf children have hearing parents who have no previous familiarity with sign language or the Deaf community. Providing a child with a sign language environment, whether as an explicit goal or as an unintended side effect, is usually seen as a “special-needs” measure based on the child’s physical impairment. In this situation, totally dominated by the disability perspective on deafness (cf. above), it is easy to think of the language itself as “impaired”. Little attention is often paid to the fact that sign languages are also acquired by hearing children of signing Deaf parents.

Recall what was said above about the potential for combining elements of a spoken and a signed language simultaneously. In numerous countries, educators and representatives for Deaf communities have invented signed versions of the spoken majority language: the individual signs are mostly taken from the sign language, but the syntax is basically that of the spoken language of the school system. They are still in much use in many countries, and in countries with English as the medium of instruction in general education in spite of little use of English in society, English is often the medium of instruction even in deaf education, complicating the deaf learners’ task.

Signed versions of spoken languages can be useful second language learning tools for deaf children, but sometimes they are also intended as tools to “standardise” the sign language used in everyday communication. If so, what is happening is a reshaping of the sign language in the image of the dominant spoken/written language, a blatant example of linguistic imperialism. Even today, many linguistically untrained people erroneously believe that the constructed system used in local deaf education *is* the sign language employed in the local Deaf community.

Over the past decades, great efforts have been made to argue on different political levels that sign languages are, indeed, real and non-impaired languages. Today, a number of countries have indeed introduced legislative protection of their national sign languages and acknowledge their linguistic nature in official documents. Some countries, such as Uganda and Finland, even have such protection of sign language written in their constitutions. In such countries, devaluing characterisations are now not officially endorsed any more, but rather have the status of misconceptions or “myths” about sign language(s). As we shall see below, this change in official rhetoric does not guarantee that devaluation stops happening.

In this section, we have begun an exploration of the spoken–sign dichotomy in the framework of linguistic imperialism. The following case description shows more concretely the parallels in attitudes and practices between linguistic imperialism concerning spoken languages and the relationship between spoken languages and sign languages.

Linguistic Imperialism Concerning Norwegian and Norwegian Sign Language

Norway is one of those countries in which the official discourse on sign language has changed radically. From 1997, deaf children have had an individual right to Norwegian Sign Language as the language of teaching and as a major school subject regulated in the national curriculum, and in 2008, the Government proposed that Norwegian Sign Language should be recognised and protected as a part of Norway’s cultural heritage in a forthcoming Language Act.

Devaluing statements about Norwegian Sign Language are rarely found in public discourse today. What is found, however, is some of the old imperialist rhetoric popping up in more subtle ways in discussions of educational provisions to children with cochlear implants, a sophisticated audiothechnical device implanted into the inner ear. Nearly all profoundly deaf children in Norway today are provided with cochlear implants. Many of them develop considerable functional hearing from the implants and become able to acquire spoken language spontaneously. But the effect on hearing varies, and hardly any child with cochlear implants functions satisfactorily in *all* relevant communication settings. Still, the hospital responsible

for paediatric cochlear implantation in Norway does not highlight bilingualism in its counselling to parents:

The purpose of cochlear implants is to give children hearing and the opportunity to develop spoken language communication. Rikshospitalet University Hospital recommends, as a default, auditory verbal/oral education. Cochlear implantation should be carried out early, preferably before the child is one year old. Several studies show that it is then possible to acquire approximately normal spoken language skills with cochlear implants [footnotes omitted]. For a small number of children who do not, for different reasons, develop spoken language as expected, as well as for the multiple disabled, the recommendation of speech with sign support or sign language is considered. The parents choose a habilitation programme subsequent to thorough information.⁷³ (Siem et al. 2008: 128. My translation (AMV).)

As we can see, even though the authors expect the child with cochlear implants to acquire only “approximately normal spoken language skills”, the provision of Norwegian Sign Language (and thus the possibility of unimpaired language development) is mentioned as just one of several options to be considered only after previous failure in spoken language acquisition. Siem et al. (2008) express no concern for the importance of early language exposure also for sign language acquisition, and do not at all mention the benefits of bilingual acquisition.

The hospital’s recommendations are, in fact, hard to understand if we do not assume an underlying devaluation of Norwegian Sign Language. In fact, three of Phillipson’s (1992) “fallacies” (cf. above) can be recognised in the quoted text: the monolingual fallacy, the early start fallacy, and (implicitly) the subtractive fallacy. The native speaker fallacy may not be traceable in the quote, but worries about the future of Deaf teachers in deaf education in Norway have indeed been aired and discussed.

Conclusion

Linguistic imperialism is not limited to spoken languages. It can be recognised in internal relationships among sign languages, as well as in relationships between spoken and signed languages. Linguistic imperialism involving sign languages closely corresponds with spoken language imperialism, even though we may lack the knowledge of the language situation before the arrival of the foreign representatives. Linguistic imperialism involving spoken and sign languages is usually structural and

⁷³ Original text: “Formålet med cochleaimplantat er å gi barn hørsel og muligheten til å utvikle talespråklig kommunikasjon. Rikshospitalet anbefaler i utgangspunktet auditiv verbal/oral opplæring. Cochleaimplantasjon bør utføres tidlig, helst innen barnet har fylt ett år. Flere studier viser at det da er mulig å tilegne seg tilnærmet normale talespråklige ferdigheter med cochleaimplantat [footnotes omitted]. Hos noen få barn som av forskjellige grunner ikke utvikler talespråk som forventet, samt hos multifunksjonshemmede, vil det være aktuelt å anbefale tale med støtte av tegn eller tegnspråk. Foreldrene velger habiliteringsopplegg etter grundig informasjon.”

cultural features of the relationships within such language pairs (such as Norwegian and Norwegian Sign Language) are, however, very similar to those described in the literature on linguistic imperialism.

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ALSO THE NORDIC LANGUAGES ARE THREATENED

IS NORWEGIAN THREATENED AS AN ACADEMIC LANGUAGE?

By Birgit Brock-Utne

Introduction

When I was a professor at the University of Dar es Salaam (1987 – 1992) some of my students said they wanted to come with me and continue their studies in Norway. I told them that if they wanted to continue their studies with me in Norway, they would have to learn Norwegian. My students were surprised. They thought most universities in Europe would have English as the language of instruction. I told them that if they wanted to study in Greece, they had to learn Greek, in Finland Finnish, in Sweden Swedish, in Germany German, in Italy Italian, in Russia Russian and so on.

At the time when I was teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania we did not have a single course at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo in English. Now the situation has changed and that at such a rapid pace that there is reason to maintain that Norwegian is threatened as an academic language.

The threat has taken on new proportions in recent years and has become the concern of many Norwegian academics. In two articles published in the *International Review of Education* (Brock-Utne 2001, 2007a), I have gone deeper into the problems we face and into the debate both in Norway and Sweden than the space offered me here will allow me to do (see also 2007b). When it comes to the situation in the Nordic countries I refer to Per-Åke's contribution in this book following my article. I shall here mostly dwell on the more recent development within higher education in Norway and especially deal with the reward system for publishing academic articles as well as the most recent White paper on the language policy in Norway.

ALSO THE NORDIC LANGUAGES ARE THREATENED

IS NORWEGIAN THREATENED AS AN ACADEMIC LANGUAGE?

By Birgit Brock-Utne

Introduction

When I was a professor at the University of Dar es Salaam (1987 – 1992) some of my students said they wanted to come with me and continue their studies in Norway. I told them that if they wanted to continue their studies with me in Norway, they would have to learn Norwegian. My students were surprised. They thought most universities in Europe would have English as the language of instruction. I told them that if they wanted to study in Greece, they had to learn Greek, in Finland Finnish, in Sweden Swedish, in Germany German, in Italy Italian, in Russia Russian and so on.

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Higher Rewards for Academic Publications in English Than in Norwegian

In 1991 Norwegian state institutions were given the possibility of introducing “performance salary” as a part of local salary negotiations. Before that all associate professors had the same salary and so did all professors. The whole reward system fits well with the commercialisation of higher education which has also hit European universities (Brock-Utne 2002).

One of the institutes in the Faculty of Humanities, the Institute of Philosophy, started not long after rewarding the academic staff for their published books and articles. The table below shows the rewards given the academic staff at that institute already in 1997 depending on the type of publication as well as the language being used for their academic publishing.

Table 1

Bonus Paid by the Institute of Philosophy at the University of Oslo in 1997

Types of publications:	For publications for an international audience, written in an international language	For publications for a Nordic audience written in Norwegian
Book – authored	15 000 NOK	7 000 NOK
Book – edited (covers also editing of issues of professional journals)	5 000 NOK	2 000 NOK
Doctoral thesis	15 000 NOK	7 000 NOK
Article in a professional refereed journal	7 000 NOK	1 000 NOK
Book review in a professional refereed journal	1 000 NOK	200 NOK
Referee work in a professional journal, per article refereed	500 NOK	200 NOK

When this example was presented to the staff of the Institute for Educational Research at an end of the year seminar in 1997, there were protests among our academic staff. We saw the system as a danger both to our own language and to the obligation a university has to the rest of society. We saw it as a threat to democracy. Unfortunately, the example from the Institute of Philosophy was the beginning

of a trend which was to continue and become institutionalised. In an article in the newspaper *Aftenposten* Professor Føllesdal (2006), who was the Director of that Institute at the time and now is working in the US, defended this system and said it led to the academic staff at his Institute, publishing more in international journals than academic staff at other institutes in the Faculty of Humanities.

Publish in English or Perish

In 2004, the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions published a dossier called: *Vekt på forskning*⁷⁴ (UHR 2004). This publication institutionalised a reward system dividing journals and publishing companies into three levels: level zero (no reward given to the institution or researcher – most publishing companies in developing countries belong to this category, even if they publish in English), level 1 (reward given) and level 2 (higher reward given – normally three times higher as level 1).

On the internet one can find a list of 486 ranked publishing companies. Of these, 55 companies are ranked at level 2, while 431 companies are ranked at level 1. No Norwegian publishing company is ranked at level 2, not even the University Publishing Company or other academic publishers such as Fagbokforlaget, Gyldendal Akademisk, Cappelen Akademisk or Tapir Akademisk.. More than 80 per cent of the publishing companies ranked at level 2 are based in the US.⁷⁵

Points are given for one-authored books published by a publishing company ranked on level 1 (5 points), and one-authored books published by a publishing company ranked at level 2 (8 points). Chapters in books published by a publishing company ranked on level 1 is rewarded with 0.7 points and at level 2 with 1 point. Each point was in 2006 rewarded with 40 000 NOK (6 500 US\$), which comes to the university centrally. Normally, the central university unit keeps 25 per cent and sends the rest to the faculties where the academic staff members who have generated the revenue are employed. The faculty keeps some of the money and distributes the rest to the different departments. The departments decide how much of the money will go to the academic staff member who has written the article/chapter/book and how much will be part of a research fund which everyone in the academic staff can apply for. At my institute the academic staff member who has generated the points will get about a tenth of the sum for her or his own research purposes.

When it comes to academic journals, a list of 1758 ranked journals are given, among which a tenth are ranked at level 2 and the rest at level 1. Only four of the many peer-reviewed academic journals published in Norwegian have been ranked at level

⁷⁴ In English: Emphasis on Research.

⁷⁵ This is the web-site dealing with the ranking of publications: <http://www.uhr.no/download.php?objectId=4479>.

2 - *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap* (Journal of Law⁷⁶), *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Journal of History⁷⁷), *Edda* (A name from the Norse Saga⁷⁸) and *Maal og Minne* (Oral and written literature⁷⁹).

Within the field of Educational Research no academic journal where any of the articles is written in another language than English has been ranked at level 2. Scholarly articles on level 1 are rewarded with 1 point and at level 2 with 3 points. This system has now been institutionalised and forms part of the basis for university funding.

The Change in the Law of Universities and Colleges in 2005

The law of Norwegian higher education of 12th of May 1995 contained the following paragraph: “The language of instruction in Norwegian universities and colleges is normally Norwegian” (§2.7). The paragraph had come into the law after quite a lot of pressure from the Norwegian Language Council. At one point the Ministry of Education tried to delete the paragraph, but Parliament put it back in. In 2002, a new law of Norwegian higher education was proposed. Here, it was again suggested to do away with paragraph 2.7. There were protests against the deletion of this paragraph from the University of Tromsø, from the Norwegian Language Council and from some academics. Yet the paragraph was taken out of the new law of Norwegian higher education of the 1st August 2005. It was argued that the paragraph had to be taken out because of the current internationalisation of universities (Kristoffersen 2005). When this important paragraph is not there any more, we cannot demand from non-Norwegian speaking university professors that they learn the Norwegian language in order to teach and tutor our students in our language and in order not to force the academic staff to hold their meetings in English. This development is also a threat to Norwegian as an academic language.

⁷⁶ All laws in Norway are written in Norwegian.. *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap*, has since its first issue in 1888 been a channel for Nordic academic law studies and builds links between lawyers in the Nordic countries. This is the academic journal where interpretations of laws and discussions around them take place. The journal also publishes reviews of current books.

⁷⁷ The journal is the longest running academic journal in Norway. It has since its first issue in 1871 been the central channel for Norwegian historians, read by researchers and students as well as teachers of history. *Historisk tidsskrift* is the journal of the Norwegian society of historians, a society for those who have had at least two full terms of study of history at a Norwegian university and are engaged in historical research or dissemination of such research. The editorial board had to fight hard to have the journal be recognised at level 2.

⁷⁸ Edda was the name of a book of stories and tales written by Snorre Sturlason around 1200. The journal Edda was founded in 1914 as a Nordic journal for the academic study of Nordic literature. The journal is one of the leading journals within studies of literature written in the Nordic languages.

⁷⁹ The direct translation of *Maal og Minne* is “Language and Memory”. The journal publishes articles which deal with Norwegian language and Norwegian oral and written tradition like literature from the Middle Ages, names of places in Norway, folk tales and oral literature still alive among people in remote areas. *Maal og Minne* publishes two numbers each year. It publishes articles mostly in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish but also some in German and English.

The 2008 White Paper on Norwegian Language Policy

In the summer of 2008, the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church presented at White Paper to Parliament on Norwegian Language policy.⁸⁰ I found that the paper was disappointing on two accounts and wrote an article in the largest Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, about this (Brock-Utne 2008). This article led to a radio debate between the Minister of Culture, Trond Giske from the Social-Democratic party, and me on the 21st July 2008. The Norwegian government in 2008 – the so-called red-green government – was a coalition consisting of the following three parties: The Social Democrats, the Centre party and the Socialist Left Party. These three parties together with the Christian People's Party in 1995 had Parliament adopt the paragraph: "The language of instruction in Norwegian universities and colleges shall as a rule be Norwegian" as part of the Law of Universities and Colleges. But the bourgeois coalition government in the beginning of the new millennium – consisting of the Conservative party, the Liberals and the Christian Party saw to it that this paragraph was taken out of the University Law of 2005 even though Norwegian is more threatened as an academic language to-day than it was in 1995.

One would have expected that the red-green government would argue in their white paper on Norwegian language policy for reinserting this paragraph in the Law of Universities and Colleges. The White Paper "Mål og mening" mentions that the Norwegian Language Council in 2006 had suggested to reinsert this paragraph. The White Paper argues against the Language Council as the Minister of Culture did against me in the radio debate in July 2008 maintaining that deletion of this paragraph was a consequence of the "internationalisation of higher education". But it is exactly the pressure from the internationalisation of higher education which requires a legal protection of the Norwegian language in places of higher learning. In 2001, the Legal Court of the EU denied Iceland the right to have lower taxation of Icelandic literature than of literature written in foreign languages – a practice Iceland had embarked on to protect their own language. Knowing about this fact I asked our Minister of Culture whether he was afraid of sanctions from the EU, if Norway wanted further promotion of the Norwegian language through legal measures. The Minister chose not to answer that question.

My other caveat when it comes to the White paper on the Norwegian Language Policy of 2008 has to do with the fact that the paper goes against the proposal from one of our law professors, Professor Ola Mestad, of giving the Norwegian language legal protection in our Constitution like France has done for the French language. The indigenous minority language, the Saami language, is given legal protection in our Constitution – the majority language Norwegian is not.

⁸⁰ The White Paper was called *Mål og mening. Ein heilskapleg norsk språkpolitikk (Language and Meaning. A Holistic Norwegian Language Policy.*

The language policy of Norwegian universities and colleges is in Norway, as in developing countries, a political question which has to do with distribution of power between social classes, between the elites and the masses.

Norwegian Researchers Defending Our Language as a Language of Research

Norwegian academics seem to be more prepared to defend the Norwegian language as an academic language than colleagues in some other European countries.

On the 5th May 2006, a petition signed by 223 well-known Norwegian professors from the humanities and the social sciences was published in our largest newspaper *Aftenposten*, the newspaper which also had been the leading news channel for the debate (see (Brock-Utne 2005, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; Sivertsen and Kolstø 2005; Hagen and Bale 2005, 2006; Føllesdal 2006; Gjølberg and Sivertsen 2006; Hveem 2005; Kristoffersen 2005).

The petition was called: *To the defense of Norwegian as a language of research*. The text referred to the publication “*Snart to hundre*” (Soon two hundred⁸¹) from the University of Oslo where it was stated that the universities have a fundamental responsibility to preserve and further develop Norwegian as an academic language. The publication launched as a principle that there should be no connection between financial reward and choice of language of publication.

The petition supported this principle and argued that it had to be established as a norm for the whole of the university and college sector. The professors who signed the petition challenged the academic Norway to rethink the reward system which had been built up. The social sciences and humanities need provisions which do not discriminate against Norwegian. The petition has, however so far (December 2008) had no effect. The reward system continues.

The engagement of many Norwegian academics in the defense of Norwegian as an academic language can be contrasted with the attitude of many Dutch academics. In 1989, Prof. Ritzen was appointed the Minister of Education in Holland. Minister Ritzen, who had a doctoral degree both in economics and physics and had studied in the United States, had as a professor of economics in Holland felt frustrated because of the use of Dutch in the academia. As a minister, he now proposed that English should be the sole medium of instruction in all Dutch universities. His proposal met with overwhelming support from the academia.

His proposal met with harsh critique when it was presented in Parliament, however. Parliament insisted on regulating the language issue because it didn't trust the

⁸¹ Referring to the fact that the University of Oslo, which was founded in 1811, soon is 200 years old. The publication came from a committee which had been appointed to look at the language issue at the University of Oslo.

Minister⁸² and the academics. Therefore, Parliament actually passed an amendment to the university law now saying that no courses can be offered in another language if it is not offered in Dutch. This was actually seen as a step backward for those professors who wanted more English language instruction in Dutch higher education. There has, however, still been a steady growth of Master courses taught in English within Dutch higher education.

There is reason to watch closely the threat to smaller European languages as academic languages posed by increased anglicification of the academia.

Conclusion

The Norwegian case shows how a smaller European language like Norwegian is threatened as an academic language. When Norwegian academics are discouraged from publishing in Norwegian it means that academic Norwegian will deteriorate and vocabulary will not be further developed.

We shall reach a situation which African academics are in when they have difficulties discussing academic matters in African languages because the academic concepts have not been developed in their languages.

All languages develop through use and they also fail to develop or stagnate through disuse. The Norwegian case also shows the threat to Norwegian publishing houses.

The fact that no weight is given to journals or chapters in books published in developing countries discourages Norwegian academics to use such publication channels. The fact that no bonus is given for publishing in non-refereed journals or newspapers also discourages Norwegian academics from using time for such publishing. This all means, a threat to democracy, to enlightening the public.

A discussion about the anglicification of European universities is going on in many countries in Europe and is very lively both in Norway, Sweden and Denmark at the moment as can be seen in the preceding article by Per Åke on the issue.

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⁸² Former Minister Ritzen later worked in the World Bank in Washington DC.

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ARE THE NORDIC LANGUAGES THREATENED AS ACADEMIC LANGUAGES?

By Per-Åke Lindblom

Introduction

Until the 1850s Latin dominated as the language students would write their theses in at the University of Uppsala. Then Swedish took over. During the economic Golden Age of Sweden (1870 –1970), when real growth amounted to two per cent per year, only surpassed by Japan, five academic languages were used to varying degrees as theses languages: Swedish, Latin, French, German and English (Östlund and Örneholm 2000).

This shows that there is no absolute connection between a country's economic progress and an exclusive concentration on a single academic language. German was an important academic language in the beginning of the 19th century, but was totally replaced by English after the Second World War. In Sweden to-day, as well as in Denmark and Norway English is the academic language in which most students write their Ph.D theses. But Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are the languages most commonly used as languages of instruction at the universities in all of the Scandinavian countries. Smaller tests, academic papers delivered at the universities and examinations essays are also written in these languages. So are most Master theses, especially within the social sciences and humanities.

Latin was a genuine lingua franca, as it was nobody's mother tongue. No state could profit on the use of Latin as an academic language. When national languages replaced Latin as academic languages at the Nordic universities, it had to do with a long process, which started in Denmark and Sweden and continued in Norway and Finland (encompassing in the latter country a shift of language from Swedish to Finnish). The University in Iceland (Haskoli Islands) was only established in 1911. Today we have a new historic situation; the Nordic national languages are on their way to be replaced, especially at the Ph.D. level by English.

Some Examples

Some examples below may illustrate the present situation.

According to an estimate from 2006⁸³ about 5000 out of 40,000 courses at the

⁸³ Svenskan hotas av svengelskan (Swedish threatened by Swenglish) *Dagens Nyheter* 20/10 2006.

universities or colleges in Sweden, i. e. 12,5 per cent, were given wholly or partly in English.

According to a report from the Danish Ministry of science and humanities in 2008⁸⁴ one-fourth of all university courses in the country were conducted in English, though one-third of these were at the same time offered in Danish. The tendency is, however, that the number of parallel courses in Danish is diminishing.

In Sweden, in 2003, the percentage of theses written in English amounted to 78 (Jacobsson et al 2003).⁸⁵ According to the latest estimates a speedy increase has taken place. In the year 2006 only each fourteenth of the Ph.D. theses, i. e. seven per cent, were written in Swedish. A Norwegian report (Schwach 2004)⁸⁶ estimated the share of theses in English at 70 – 80 per cent in 2004.

Another report (Worren 2007)⁸⁷ showed that Master theses in English at Norwegian universities had increased to 33 per cent in 2007, from 9 in 1968.

Three Danish researchers (Fenchel et al 2008) recently wrote an article⁸⁸ debating the role of researchers in society on the basis of economic studies. The pattern of publishing by Danish economists has changed radically since the second half of the 19th century. The share of books has diminished in favour of articles, the share of articles in Danish has diminished in favour of articles in English, the general share of internationally published articles has diminished in favour of publishing in US periodicals, the share of argumentative texts has diminished in favour of mathematical models, the share of individual authors has diminished in favour of groups and the share of paper editions has diminished in favour of electronic ones. Danish as a consequence of this change has lost ground as an academic language.

The changes have occurred rather rapidly within the last couple of decades. During the period 1960 to 1979 ninety per cent of Ph.D. theses delivered at the University

⁸⁴ Sprog til tiden (Languages nowadays) p. 42. Rapport fra sprogutvalget, Kulturministeriet april 2008 - ISBN: 978-87-7960-108-6; – Tryk: Sangill Grafisk Produktion. ISBN. Electronic version: 978-87-7960-110-9 PDF-version: http://www.kum.dk/graphics/kum/Netpub/Sprog%20til%20tiden/Sprog_til_tiden/pdf/sprog_til_tiden_netpub.pdf

⁸⁵ Doktorandspejln. Gunilla Jacobsson, Per Gillström and Anette Gröjer: Doktorandspejln. (The doctoral students' mirror) 2003 - Published by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education. Högskoleverkets rapportserie 2003:28 R, ISSN 1400-948X. PDF-version: <http://web2.hsv.se/publikationer/rapporter/2003/0328R.pdf>

⁸⁶ Vera Schwach: Norsk vitenskap – på språklig bortebane? (Norwegian science – written in a foreign language) -NIFU skriftserie 9/2004. ISSN 0808-4572. PDF-version: <http://nifu.pdc.no/publ/pdf/2004/S-2004-9.pdf> NIFU= Norsk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning (Norwegian Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education)

⁸⁷ Anders S. Worren Engelsk vinner terreng (English is gaining ground), Universitas 21/11 2007 <http://universitas.no/kultur/50007/6>

⁸⁸ TomFenchel/PeterHarder/NielsKærgård: Forskeren i samfundet: Publicering, evaluering og formidling. (The researcher in society: publishing, evaluation and dissemination) - Debatoplæg til Forskningspolitisk Årsmøde den 4. marts 2008. Utgiven av De kongelige danske videnskabernes selskab februar. 2008. PDF-version via <http://royalacademy.net.dynamicweb.dk/Forskningspolitik/Publikationer-1.aspx>

of Copenhagen were written in Danish and 10 per cent in English. From 2000 to 2004 hundred per cent were written in English!

How Has This Happened?

The expansion of English has taken place the past 20 years, most of all caused by the emergence of data technology and internet, i.e. the so-called information revolution. This has strengthened English, as the data technology, hardware as well as software, was just like internet first developed in the US, which at that time was perceived to have the world's strongest economy. The US and its universities have also been in a position to attract leading researchers from all parts of the world thanks to economic resources, status and language.

The Nordic governments have not taken any measures against the expansion of English at academic levels, but on the contrary adopted a *laissez faire* policy. Characteristically, the Swedish Parliamentary bill on colleges⁸⁹ did not spend a single word on the position of Swedish at the country's colleges. In Norway, the important paragraph "The language of instruction is usually Norwegian" (§2.7) disappeared practically without notice when the university law was amended 1/8 2005 (Brock-Utne 1999⁹⁰).

The Bologna process does not only concern the co-ordination and efficiency of higher education in Europe and conforming European curricula to the ones in the US, but is just as much addressed to meeting the competition from the US in the recruitment market of international students. All in all about 2.7 million students studied in 2004 in another country than their own (Ljosland 2008). A consequence of this is that especially colleges in European countries with "small" national languages arrange more and more courses in English from ground level and up, in order to attract foreign students. Even Hungarian colleges are advertising courses in English in the Swedish press, in spite of the fact that Hungary according to an EU study is the member country which has least knowledge about foreign languages.

Universities in the English-speaking countries will, however, always teach in better English than universities in countries where English is not the main language.

Nordic linguistic scholars started discussing the emerging situation in the beginning of the 1990es. This led to several studies being undertaken. Several reports on the language situation in different Nordic countries were published in the beginning of the 2000s. The first recommendations or language plans which focused on the language situation at colleges in different countries and universities appeared a bit later.

⁸⁹ Ny värld - ny högskola (New world – new college) 2005. Bill by the Swedish government) 2004/05:162. The bill is dated 2004, but was only presented to Parliament on the 2nd June 2005.– PDF-version: <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/04/63/20/c709b01f.pdf>

⁹⁰ See also Brock-Utne's article in this volume

What Can Be Done About the Situation?

The defense of the Nordic languages should be based on three main arguments:

1. All languages have an intrinsic value of their own, including the national languages in the Nordic countries.
2. It is a human right to use one's own language also at the highest level of academic work.
3. At last follows the fundamental democratic argument, i. e.: In case of a shift of language, in this case at colleges, a gap will occur between the so-called educated elites and common people in the Nordic countries. Dissemination of scientific experiences and results will be more difficult, leading in the last resort to negative consequences for democracy.

The first step is to recognise that the relation in colleges between the Nordic languages and English is in fact problematic. Then follows a systematic discussion of the language situation in higher education, preferably allowing this to result in local language plans for the colleges. This must be supplied by an updated legislation which regulates the use of languages in colleges at the national level.

The Nordic language declaration⁹¹ prescribes linguistic parallelism between English and Nordic languages. I am sceptical to this main strategy. Linguistic parallelism may easily be misinterpreted to imply nothing, but regulating the relation between a Nordic language and English.

Several local language plans have been written with this one-sided focus. The official decision about linguistic parallelism in Denmark has neither prevented the Veterinary College – now a faculty at the University of Copenhagen – nor Denmark's Technological University from deciding that all teaching above Bachelor levels shall be given in English. But if the intention is that students should master more languages than the national one and English, linguistic multiplicity should rather be called for.

The Swedish commercial college in Helsinki is for example applying language multiplicity, as all students have to follow courses in the two national languages as well as two foreign languages.

A good college legislation should regulate the questions about languages for work and communication, for teaching, for examination and for theses writing. This might also make local language plans superfluous. In my opinion a revised college legislation in Sweden should state:

- That the teaching language at colleges normally is Swedish at the Bachelor course level and that students whose mother tongue is Swedish are entitled to get all teaching in Swedish, with the exception of distinct language subjects. Teaching in English may be given to guest- and exchange-students at master and research levels, if this is most appropriate.

⁹¹ <http://www.norden.org/uddannelse/ministerraad/Sprogdeklarationen>

- That no course should be offered in English unless it is first offered in Swedish.
- That a Swedish-speaking student shall be entitled to examination in her or his own language – with the exception of distinct language subjects. Foreign students shall be entitled to examination in English or other languages, if adequate examiners are available.
- That scientific articles and theses may be written in Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, English or other foreign languages, primarily German, French and Spanish. A thesis which is written in Swedish or another language mentioned above, except English, shall be supplied with a substantial summary in English. A thesis which is written in English or other foreign languages shall in the same way be equipped with a substantial summary in Swedish. The only factor of importance for the choice of thesis language is whether the thesis will be exposed to a scientific evaluation within its field of subject.
- That publication of scientific articles and theses shall not be disfavoured through quantitative measurements like impact factors.
- That course books in Danish or Norwegian should always be preferred if they have the same scientific standard as the English ones.

If resolute counter measures are not taken, development in the Nordic countries is likely to lead to a situation like the one existing in Africa, south of Sahara, namely that no endogenous language is functioning as language of instruction within higher education or as scientific language. There is even a trend among the elites in Sweden to send their children to secondary schools where the language of instruction is English. These poor students face many of the same problems as African students; they become inactive, are afraid of answering in class, have to do extra home-work and the teaching becomes more teacher centred (Falk 2008).

In Africa, this is the result of colonialism. In the Nordic countries, it will eventually be a question of self-chosen colonialism, freely and willingly turning the clock back.

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LANGUAGE IN THE COURTS - EXAMPLES FROM TANZANIA AND NORWAY

DEMOCRACY AND LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA

By Haroub Othman

Introduction

The struggle for independence in Africa was a struggle for democracy and human rights. There is no higher democratic right to a people than the right to self-determination. As Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana at the time of Ghana's independence on 6th March 1957, remarked: "Seek ye first political kingdom and everything else will follow."

By the time the British took over Tanganyika, after the end of the First World War, to administer it on behalf of the League of Nations, the use of Kiswahili language was widespread. There were few pockets where Kiswahili was not in use, but the majority of the population understood it. In the case of Zanzibar, it was understood by everybody. In the struggle for independence in both Tanganyika (now Tanzania Mainland) and in Zanzibar, Kiswahili language played an important role. It was used to mobilise people, to raise their political consciousness and to prepare them for self-rule. It was also expected to mobilise them for national development. In fact, the widespread use of Kiswahili was one of the factors that brought about national cohesion and unity (Kaduma, 2004; Lodhi, 1974).

First English Then Kiswahili as Official Languages of Tanzania

Tanganyika got its independence from the British on 9th December 1961. At the time of independence English was the official language. But English was spoken and understood by a tiny section of the population. It was hoped that the first act of the independence-government would be to declare Kiswahili the official language. But this was not to happen. Only in 1967 was Kiswahili declared an official language, but with English also retained. As Massamba (1987: 188) has pointed out:

First, the very fact that Kiswahili was not declared an official language till January 4th, 1967, five years after independence, goes to show that the politicians laid very little emphasis if any, on the use of Kiswahili as a

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First, the very fact that Kiswahili was not declared an official language till January 4th, 1967, five years after independence, goes to show that the politicians laid very little emphasis if any, on the use of Kiswahili as a

technical language. Furthermore, although Kiswahili was declared an official language English continued to be used as one of the official languages of Tanzania; and provisions were made to be sure English was more widely used in official business than Kiswahili. As a point of fact Kiswahili was mostly used as an official language only in political meetings and rallies, because then the so called "masses" would not understand English.

This might seem to be an "indecision" but in fact it is a decision in favour of English.

The Use of Kiswahili in the Courts and as a Language of Instruction

In the last 40 years whenever questions are being raised as to why Kiswahili is not the language of instruction from secondary school to university level, or why it is not used in higher courts, or in the Bills submitted to both the Union Parliament and the Zanzibar House of Representatives, the answers always given is that it does not possess modern technological and scientific terms (Hyder 1966).

But people have not stopped questioning the continued use of English in post-primary school education or in courts other than the primary courts, and the Kadhi's courts in the case of Zanzibar. Various studies (Mlama and Matteru 1978, Mulokozi, 1991, Mazrui and Mazrui, 1993, Roy-Campbell 1997, Yahya-Othman, 1997, Brock-Utne 2007, Brock-Utne, Desai and Qorro (eds.) 2003) have clearly shown the benefits of learning in one's own language. As Mammino (2000: 94) emphasised:

The use of a second language as a medium of instruction is a heritage of colonisation. In all those countries where such a heritage is not present, students use their mother tongue throughout the whole instruction career. From a pedagogical point of view, the use of a second language is an objective disadvantage affecting both the easiness and, one might say, the comfort with which knowledge is acquired by students, and the extent and depth of the acquisition.

Cognitive development, as Yahya-Othman (1997: 23) was to point out, is the most facilitated when the learner can think, write, develop ideas, and discuss them in a language which is well understood.

In my 40 years of teaching in English at a Tanzanian university, I see the difficulties of my students learning and expressing themselves in a foreign language even though by the time they arrive at the university they would have had at least six years of being taught different disciplines in English. One cannot but agree with Prah (2003: 3) on the necessity of the use of conducting education in African languages:

My argument is that the whole of African education, from primary to the tertiary level, should be conducted in local languages, home languages, mother tongues. This is the way that all societies in the world that have managed to develop, or achieved a sustained developmental momentum, have been or are doing it. Turkish students study to the university level in Turkish. Greeks, Albanians, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Indonesians/Malaysians, Japanese, and others all manage their education from the beginning to the end in their own languages. Somehow when it comes to Africa the logic breaks down and all sorts of reasons are found why in the case of Africa this should be different.

Laws that concern the whole of Tanzania and those that concern Tanzania Mainland on non-Union matters are passed by the Union Parliament, and once they are assented to by the Union President they become operational. In the case of Zanzibar, laws that are in the areas within Zanzibar's jurisdiction are passed by the House of Representatives, and once they are assented to by the President of Zanzibar and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, they become operational within Zanzibar. One of the conditions for one to be a member of Parliament/House of Representatives is that s/he must know how to read and write in either Kiswahili or English.

The Language of the Law in Tanzania

The situation in the Union Parliament has improved over the years in the sense that at present all its members have at least a post-secondary education. That assumes that at least they know how to read and write in English, although that does not mean that they do understand the language very well. Bills presented to Parliament are all written in English with a resume in Kiswahili. The presentations are made in Kiswahili and the discussion takes place in Kiswahili (Brock-Utne 2008). One wonders as to why if the government drafts(wo)men who draft the Bills know Kiswahili, Parliamentarians who discuss them know Kiswahili and the people whom those Bills once enacted will affect know Kiswahili, why then are they written in English?

The public impression is that most members of the Union Parliament do not read the Bills. All they depend on are the resumes that are provided by the Ministers when presenting Bills in Parliament. Most of the time then the discussion centres on the presentation and not necessarily what is contained in the Bill. No wonder then that sometimes Parliamentarians, when they come face to face with the effects of the legislations that they passed, get surprised that they passed such laws! This definitely does not augur well for the development of a democratic culture in the country.

The situation is more serious in Zanzibar. For fifteen years (1964 – 1979) after the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 the country was run by the Revolutionary Council which was a legislative, judicial and an executive body. The 1963 Independence

Constitution was abolished and the country was ruled by Presidential Decrees. These decrees were written in English though more than half of the members of the Revolutionary Council did not know the language.

What is happening now, though painful, makes one laugh also. A bill is drafted in Kiswahili and presented to the House of Representatives in Kiswahili; and once it is passed by the House, it is translated into English and then presented to the President for his assent. The version which is made public and the people are supposed to follow is the English version, though not the one that was passed by the House!

The Language of the Courts in Tanzania

The judicial structure in the case of Tanzania Mainland is based on the existence of Primary Courts, District/Resident Magistrate's Courts and the High Court. In the case of Zanzibar, it is the Primary Courts, District Courts, Regional Courts, Kadhi's Courts and the High Court. The appellate court for both is the Court of Appeal of Tanzania. In the case of Tanzania Mainland, apart from the Primary and District Courts where the language is Kiswahili, in all other courts the language is English. For those who appear in these courts but do not know English, translation service is provided. In the case of Zanzibar, English is used only in the High Court, though the parties appearing before it *can* use Kiswahili. But even when Kiswahili is used, the record is taken in English and the judgement is given in English.

The newly appointed Chief Justice of Tanzania, Hon. Justice Agostino Ramadhani promised that he will encourage the use of Kiswahili throughout the judicial system. Let us pray that he succeeds, because it is the judges and advocates that are the great supporters of English in the courts. I remember an incident last year at the General Meeting of the Zanzibar Law Society where members argued for some time whether the meeting should be conducted in English or Kiswahili. Later the President of the Society ruled that it should be in English since it was the official language of the High Court. Half an hour after the decision was made, nobody was talking in English, and nobody protested!

Why Has Tanzania Not Yet Solved the Language Problem?

Why is a country like Tanzania which was at the forefront of Africa's liberation struggle, which proclaimed the *Arusha Declaration* that ushered in its own development path and which in its policy documents and proclamations wanted the people to be the masters of their own destiny not able to resolve this language problem? Massamba (1987) seems to think the reason is lack of "political will" on the part of the government. President Nyerere (Mzalendo 1984), a year before he stepped down as the Head of State, made the point as to why English should continue to be promoted as an official language:

English is the Swahili of the world and for that reason must be taught and given the weight it deserves in our country.... It is wrong to leave English to die. To reject English is foolishness, not patriotism.... English will be the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher education because if it is left as only a normal subject it may die (Translation by Mwansoko).

In the same year that Mwalimu Nyerere was making that statement⁹² to a meeting of Kiswahili experts, the Ministry of Education (1984) also came up with a similar position:

Both Swahili and English will be used as media of education. The teaching of English will be strengthened at all levels. Swahili will be the medium of education at Nursery and Primary levels. The teaching of English will be consolidated in primary schools. English will be the medium of education at post-primary levels where the teaching of Swahili as a subject will also be strengthened.

But the debated was not abated. In 1996, a year after coming into power, President Benjamin Mkapa called on a one-year national debate on the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at all levels of education. But ten years after his term of office expired that debate has not been concluded.

The Ambiguity of the Tanzanian Presidents

Of the three Presidents that ruled Tanzania from independence in 1961 to 2005, two of them, namely Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Alhaji Ali Hassan Mwinyi, have been great promoters of Kiswahili language. Mwinyi, when he was an educationist in Zanzibar, served in the East Africa Kiswahili Committee for many years; and Nyerere translated Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and Plato's *The Republic* into Kiswahili. But why did they insist on the official use of English? All the three former Presidents loved English language. Mkapa majored in English Literature in his university studies at Makerere; and in fact Nyerere is said to have remarked once that he appointed Mkapa as an Editor of the ruling party's English language daily, *The Nationalist*, because he writes good English.

Tanzania has signed and ratified the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Not only is the right to education guaranteed under

⁹² **Editors note:** In his later years, however, Nyerere several times said that he had made a mistake when it came to the language of instruction in secondary school and higher education. In a chapter on the language of instruction in Tanzania Rubanza (2000) mentions an article in *Daily News* from 1995 where Julius Nyerere advocates the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in secondary schools and other institutions of higher learning. In 2001, the late Prof. Ruth Besha, then Head of the Department of Kiswahili, UDSM, blamed Nyerere for reverting the decision in 1985. It did not help so much that he ten years later at the end of his life said he had made a mistake. At that point he had *haina nguvu* [no strength, no power] any more Personal communication to Birgit Brock-Utne 7.Feb.2001 (see Brock-Utne 2005).

this international human rights instrument, but also the right for a people to preserve, promote and use their own language. In any case, Kiswahili is no longer the language of Tanzania or East Africa; it is the language of the whole African continent having been adopted by the African Union as one of its official languages. When former Mozambican President, Joaquim Chissano (and not the President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa), addressed the African Heads of State Summit for the first time using Kiswahili, the audience applauded. The current President of Tanzania Kikwete gave, however, his first speech as President of Tanzania in the African Union in Kiswahili.

The language problem has to be resolved. As many experts have convincingly shown, students are better in their own mother tongues. There is no reason for the continued use of English as a language of instruction in secondary and higher education, in courts or Parliament. This is not an issue that needs the holding of a referendum or the passing of a Parliamentary resolution to decide. The President of the Republic will be surely acting within the powers vested in him if he just announces the use of Kiswahili in all areas of Tanzanian life. And this would in no way be a death bell to the English language in Tanzania.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE IN COURT – A NORWEGIAN CASE-STUDY

By Ståle Eskeland

Introduction

Each semester I attend a criminal case in Oslo tingrett together with a group of law students. It is an integrated part of their education in criminal law and criminal procedural law.

Even in cases that on the surface look pretty simple, interesting and some times far reaching questions, principle in character, appear. The case we attended this spring semester was of that kind. It highlights the importance of language, culture and context for the outcome of the case. I will share some of my experiences and reflections with you.

The Setting

The plain, most important, facts were these: Mrs. X was a 35-year-old woman from Somalia who had stayed in Norway four years. She was a single mother with three kids. Two minor kids lived in Somalia. She had the custody of the third and youngest kid, a son two years old. She lived in a home for single mothers in Oslo.

She did not speak Norwegian, her understanding ability was weak. She spoke and understood some English. One night, around midnight, she returned with her two-year-old son from a visit to some friends. She was exhausted after a long bus ride, and so was her little son. The main entrance door was locked. She rang the bell, but nobody came to open. After some time she became annoyed and grew desperate. She knocked out a window and the night attendant, who had been sleeping, appeared. She threw a grill cover in the attendant's direction, but she was not hit. The attendant called the police that came within a few minutes. The police called the municipal "Childrens' acute custody team" (Barnevernsvakta). The Somalian woman was arrested, her son was taken care of by the team.

During this sequence, the Somalian woman allegedly shouted to the attendant: "I will kill you!"

The Somalian woman was indicted for having threatened to kill the attendant in a way that was likely to cause serious fear. She was found guilty and sentenced to 15 days in prison, but the sentence was suspended. That means that she is not obliged to go to prison given that she does not commit another crime the next two years.

Reflections on the Court Case

The case raises a lot of questions. The space given me here allows me to mention only a few:

- What did the defendant actually pronounce? The defendant denied that she had said the words “I will kill you”? It is not surprising. It is common that defendants refuse facts. But in this case, language problems make it impossible to know what she in fact said. Her English was poor. The bystanders’ (the police man and the attendant) understanding of her English was also poor. Did she actually say, for example: “I will kill me?”
- Secondly, if she did pronounce the words “I will kill you”, what did they mean in her context? Was it a real threat, or was it a cry for help in a, for her, desperate situation?
- How common is the expression “I will kill you” in the defendant’s social environment? If it is a common way of expressing frustration, a code that means something else than the words seen isolated from the context, it is not punishable.
- As we all know some people find it appropriate to say “Fuck you!” to their opponents ever so often. Nobody, usually, believes the person by using this expression threatens to rape his counterpart.
- A year ago a drunk restaurant guest in northern Norway was indicted for having insulted a police officer by calling him a “hestkuk” which is Norwegian for “horse cock”. He was acquitted in the local lower court. The court said that the expression was quite common in the northern part of Norway and therefore it did not have the insulting effect which an isolated terminological interpretation would imply. (He was however, convicted in the Court of Appeals).
- Did the defendant have a fair chance to argue along the lines I have just mentioned? Obviously not.

Formally the court case was conducted in a correct way. The defendant had the opportunity to explain and argue. An interpreter, who interpreted both ways between the Somalian language and Norwegian, did a good job as far as we could judge. The defendant had a lawyer who defended her as best he could.

Nevertheless, in reality the process was unfair. And sorry to say, it is hard to see how the process can be improved substantially. The “underdog” remains an underdog, no matter how formally correct the court process might be. A person who does not master the language and the social codes in a society has a great disadvantage. That disadvantage does not disappear when a conflict is brought into the court room. It only becomes visible in another way.

Conclusion

In my view the most important remedy in order to compensate for this is education in a broad sense. The police, the prosecution, the lawyers and the courts must learn that people act and understand their acts within a context that may be fundamentally different from their own. Formal legal guarantees are not enough to ensure a fair trial and a correct result.

In my opinion the Somalian woman should not have been indicted in the first place. And she should not have been convicted in the second place. Thanks to the fact that Norway has quite low sentences compared to many other states, and the fact that the female judge in this case was a broadminded person (I happen to know her a little bit), the defendant does not have to serve the fifteen days in prison.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF PUBLISHING IN AFRICA

RANDOM THOUGHTS ON THE CASAS PUBLISHING EXPERIENCE

By Kwesi Kwaa Prah

Introduction

With respect to the topic I am addressing here, one can start by saying that, for years, Africans and African society have, amongst many other social and cultural disabilities, been characterised by poverty, illiteracy, a raging “book-famine” and a stunted book publishing infrastructure. The weaknesses of these areas of culture have mutually inter-bred and reinforced each other in a vicious circle. If you ask why so few books are read, many Africans will respond that they do not have enough money to buy books or there are hardly any books on the market or they cannot find the right types of books to buy.

In Africa today, there is what is described by various observers as a “book famine”, that is a shortage of books, the pricing of books out of the financial reach of most people or the sheer unavailability of books. This problem is so serious that it affects all levels of our formal education systems. In our universities, libraries cannot afford the purchase of books especially because hard currency is very difficult to come by and African governments, in our difficult times, are unable to provide the resources necessary for the purchase of books from overseas. Beyond these formal educational systems, the book famine also ravages the informal reading public. There is very poor diversity in reading materials, and book-shops are few and far between. I can only whole-heartedly agree with the point made many years ago by Unwin (1960: 310 - 311) that, “with most commodities it is true to say if there is a ‘run’ on them they tend to become scarce, and their price to rise. With books it is the reverse. The more they are bought, the more readily available and cheaper they can become.”

The Languages in which Literature is Produced

There is the other more serious problem of the languages in which literature is produced. It is important to remember that only about 10 per cent of Africans can

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The Languages in which Literature is Produced

There is the other more serious problem of the languages in which literature is produced. It is important to remember that only about 10 per cent of Africans can

read and write the colonial languages with any degree of finesse. It is in these colonial languages that over 95 per cent of the literature currently circulating in Africa are written in. What this means is that only a few Africans are, in the first instance, able to read in the languages of what literature exists on the ground. Another point, worthwhile noting, is that the limited literature produced in African languages is mainly religious Christian materials, principally the Bible and allied literature. The other area of literature in African languages is almost restricted to a few newspapers, the most important of which appear in Kiswahili in East Africa.

Newspapers Published in African Languages

These Kiswahili newspapers are the most successful African language-based newspapers on the continent. We are informed that, currently, about 70 per cent of all Internet (WWW) content is in English. Only 12 languages out of the world's alleged 6,000 or so account for about 98 per cent of the total web content. Kiswahili language, which constitutes over 80 per cent of the local media contents in Tanzania, is not among the 12 languages which overwhelmingly account for internet coverage. In other words, Kiswahili is among more than "5,900 world languages", which constitutes only two per cent of the Internet content. Furthermore, over 95 per cent of the Tanzania population can only speak, read and write in either Kiswahili or other local languages and hence cannot understand most of the contents on the Internet even if they can get access to it (Pambazuka News 2004).

I am convinced that, in order to give the production of literature in African languages a sturdy kick-start we have to look, in the first instance, to newspaper production. If we produce newspapers in our languages, this will stimulate the appetite of Africans for reading materials beyond newspapers. Newspaper reading, by its very nature is compulsive, regular/daily, and routinised. It therefore lends itself to psychological enforcement, as a behavioural habit, reading. I have often argued that in fact, more papers in African languages were available to Africans during the colonial period than there are now.

The elites and ruling groups in Africa are more favourably disposed to the production of literature in the colonial languages than literature in indigenous African languages; that is, literature which will cater for and reach the masses.

Publishing in Africa

It is also remarkable that the little literature which circulates in Africa are overwhelmingly produced in the metropolises of the Western world. Africans reading in English, French or Portuguese are principally catered for by publishing houses in the Western world. There is only a limited and marginal publishing base on the

continent producing books in African languages or the colonial languages. However, we can say that, overwhelmingly the little publishing that goes on produces material in the colonial languages. This in turn means that literature in Africa is meant to cater essentially for the elites or the elites-in-formation.

In the past, it has possibly been difficult to produce materials within our economic means in Africa. The technology was relatively expensive, cumbersome and the skills required for the usage of such technologies were relatively scarce. We have made extraordinary progress in book production techniques, especially in typography. In the past, difficult as circumstances were, it was always at added cost and effort possible to obtain a good face of type, but the usual available range in book printing establishments was grossly limited. Today, one can only blame the publisher for a shoddy product in this respect. A great many fonts are easily and readily available. It is possible to bring quality to even a relatively cheap book. Thanks to the computer revolution. The computer revolution has swept into oblivion and ancient history, printing from movable type. These transformations have been highlighted by the emergence of a composite set of technologies and techniques called, most appropriately, “desk-top publishing.”

Desktop Publishing

Indeed, remarkably, over no more than the past two to three decades the picture of printing and publishing has changed drastically since the arrival of the techniques of desktop publishing. Publishing has become cheap and easy and accessible to practically anybody with a desktop computer and the common skills of word-processing and book-design. But again here, in Africa, because of the fact that, as earlier said, 98 per cent of the materials on the internet are in the former colonial languages and a few other languages, the orientation and definition of audiences remains directed towards the elites.

Desktop publishing in Africa is slowly gaining ground, but compared to other parts of the world, progress in Africa is seriously circumscribed and underdeveloped. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the most dynamic region for desktop publishing remains in the southern tip of the continent; in South Africa in particular and to a much lesser extent the other countries in the Southern Africa region. Compared to Eastern and Western Africa, Southern Africa has a much more robust and established desktop publishing industry.

One could argue that currently for about 1500 US\$, it is possible in South Africa to have the basic technical infrastructure for desktop publishing. This places the technology well within the reach of large sections of the population. The extent to which advantage is taken of this is however questionable. Also, over 95 per cent of what is produced is in English. The African languages hardly feature, except

in limited academic linguistic circles and a few invariably missionary publishing organisations.

When Dialects are Treated as Separate Written Languages

Another problem with the publishing of materials in African languages is that, they are written in orthographies with limited constituency ranges. Many African languages are written by missionary groups with very idiosyncratic linguistic criteria. French, English and Portuguese missionaries wrote African languages with bias from the experiences of their own languages. Sometimes within the same language group the missionaries, depending on their own confessions, chose specific orthographies. So that, it is possible for the same African language, to have several written/spelling versions. Near and closely proximate dialects are treated as separate languages. When publishing is done under these conditions, economic rationality cannot be brought into play. Languages that are split up in minutiae are economically unsustainable.

All the same one can say with little doubt that the desktop publishing industry augurs well for Africa. Greater effort would need to be thrown behind the availability of these techniques in order to be able to produce the materials for the internet and print literature that would make a difference to the cultural and educational lives of the masses.

CASAS Publishing

The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) is an Africa-wide research coordination centre working mainly in the area of the harmonisation and standardisation of African languages. This means the development of harmonised orthographies/spelling systems for mutually intelligible languages. CASAS was started at the beginning of the 1990s. The initial literature which was produced was done relatively cheaply. Much of the work was done in-house, i.e. the word-processing, editorial work, typesetting and proof-reading was undertaken at little cost. Right from the start the largest outlay was in printing.

As time went on, it was necessary to produce literature which technically could rival products from anywhere in the world. This meant that the areas of typesetting and some editorial work had to be outsourced. The option of outsourcing was taken because the volume of work produced did not warrant the acquisition of full-time staff, in-house, to take care of this area of work. As and when it was needed, the work was outsourced to specialist agents who could produce first class materials in the area of typesetting and proof-reading. This has proven to be fairly expensive.

A great deal of the material produced by CASAS, especially in the early years, were basic materials under the rubrics of *Notes and Records*, *Occasional Papers*, *Monographs*,

a *Book Series* and a Journal, *Tinabantu*. Consistently about 90 per cent of what has been produced over the years has related to the direct area of CASAS' mandate, that is, the development of African languages.

In recent years, CASAS has been producing, increasingly, literature in African languages based on the new orthographies developed by the CASAS network. This literature is being produced largely by members of the CASAS network who are exposed to and grounded in the usage of these new orthographies. A wide variety of literature is being produced in subject areas as diverse as HIV/AIDS, water, sanitation, bird flu and other health problems, democracy, human rights, gender issues and so on.

In principle, for now, CASAS is avoiding the production of fiction. We are of the view that our literature must, knowledge-wise, empower our readers. Much of this literature is destined for use in adult literacy classes in the Southern African region. There is relatively little purchased from this collection and what we notice is that much of what is purchased is acquired by institutions and libraries outside Africa, which hold African-language collections. CASAS is also in the production of glossaries and dictionaries which promise to have greater marketability.

Primers and Primary School Readers

During the past couple of years, CASAS' work in the area of the harmonisation and standardisation of African languages has progressed to the level where on the basis of the new orthographies, CASAS has been able to produce literature for all levels of schooling at the primary stage for three countries. These are Zambia, Zimbabwe and Uganda. What this means is that the integration of new orthographies and the publishing of books on the basis of these orthographies for primary schools in Africa is not only feasible but also underway. The governmental authorities in these three countries have agreed with CASAS on the basis of Memoranda of Understandings to proceed with large-scale production of these literatures. This will open the way to the production of African language based materials on an ever-increasing scale.

The production of such literature would need to go with the requisite junior dictionaries to service such literature. Again here, CASAS has started publishing. What is however clear is that such large-scale publishing falls out of CASAS' capacity area. These publications would need to be taken on by commercial publishing houses.

CASAS has also received requests from one or two areas and countries to produce magazines in African languages for grassroots communities. Grassroots associations have expressed the wish to get involved in the publishing cycle of materials affecting and relating to their modes of livelihood and everyday lives.

Concluding Remarks

Without doubt, there is great future in African publishing if such publishing is directed towards the production of literature in African languages. The interest of commercial houses has to be stimulated with economic incentives towards this end.

As part of the concluding observations, one would want to emphasize the importance of outlets for published materials in Africa. The importance of this issue cannot be over-emphasized. Bookshops and general book-handlers are too scarce in Africa. Till today, I dare say, the distribution of African-produced books remains mainly located outside Africa. Distribution houses which are infrastructurally significant and sufficiently capitalised to undertake literature distribution of African-based and produced books are overwhelmingly in the western world, outside Africa. This is partly because of the fact that most of the books produced in Africa are written in the colonial languages, and therefore frequently readerships are larger outside than inside Africa. But this is only part of the story.

We find that some African-based and produced books reach African readership on the continent via European distribution houses in Europe. Possibly, as African language books increase in volume and diversity, in the coming years, some of these anomalies would be corrected. For now, many African publishing houses find this course of action the most rational. Africans would need to pay attention to these issues because the realisation must come that it is not in the economic interest of distribution houses in Europe and North America to cede their interests to alternative arrangements which, are Africa-based.

It should be obvious that democratic society and culture in Africa cannot advance in any serious manner if publishing and literature distribution in Africa does not expand to reach the broad masses. The vitality of debate and the contestation of ideas that are crucial ingredients for the cultivation of democracy require increasingly knowledge-empowerment for the reading constituencies. There are signs that in recent decades African media in general is opening up all channels of communication and relations with the wider sections of Africa's populations (*Repertoire des médias* 2004: 9 - 10).

The next few years will be crucial for the expansion of African publishing in African languages. Another important point that has to be made is that greater all-round advocacy activities would need to be carried out in order to mobilise all stakeholders around the common objective of increased publishing in African languages.

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RECLAIMING OUR HEARTH: PUBLISHING IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

By Walter Bgoya

Introduction

After Africa's struggle for freedom and independence from colonialism, education was at the top of the urgent demands people made on their governments. Other expectations of the political freedom and independence they had won, namely freedom from poverty, ignorance and disease, were expected to follow from education. All African countries at independence invested heavily in teaching. Gains in other areas of development were registered in the first 10 to 20 years in part due to improvements in education.

While people's desire for education was overwhelming and the response of states was initially positive, the content of education was not given much consideration. Colonial type education was not questioned; the values underpinning it, the ways it was delivered and the fact that it was still considered more of a privilege than a right of all citizens. Although the open racial content of colonial era education was gradually removed from textbooks, subtler, but no less insidious elements remained. Capitalist individualistic values; examination systems that placed higher premium on success in the examinations than in learning; corporal punishment as the preferred method of enforcing discipline and discrimination of girl children by limiting their access remained, and in some ways they were actively promoted. Women were pushed into menial and low paying professions such as nursing, low level teaching and secretarial jobs. Through these limitations, women were left out of leadership positions and their access to resources and economic success was seriously curtailed.

The issue of language, that is, the vehicle of delivery of education, has been left out of the above list because it is dealt with in depth in the rest of the paper.

Over the years, improvements have been made in many of the problem areas identified above. Corporal punishment does still exist in schools, but it is greatly discouraged, and in some countries it has been abolished. School enrolments have recorded great increases, and in most countries opportunities for girls have greatly expanded. There are more opportunities for young women in schools and universities pursuing their chosen area of interest than ever before, although this is by no means the case in all African countries. There are still limitations and obstacles when it comes to higher education for girls.

Language of Instruction

One of the contentious issues of African education is language of instruction. More than 40 years have passed since the first research findings in Tanzania established clearly the disadvantages to students in secondary schools of an education delivered through a language that neither they nor their teachers have sufficient command of (Mlama and Matteru 1978). The Ministry of Education is, however, just as determined as before to maintain the policy of English as the medium of instruction. For an historical account on the battle around the language of instruction in Tanzania, see Brock-Utne (2005) and Qorro (2009b).

In recent statements and speeches of Ministry of Education officials, the absence of qualified English teachers at primary, secondary and higher institutions of learning in Tanzania is lamented, and the conclusion is that as a result, education suffers greatly. They admit that despite the government's policy of English as a language of instruction over the past 47 years since independence, teachers and students do not command the language well enough to teach and to learn via its use. It is admitted that the long-term effects of this situation impact negatively on individual citizenship and national development. The imposition of English over the past 47 years has resulted in a tragic farce of pretension that education is being offered in our country beyond primary school level. The obtuseness of this thinking is evident; if secondary education is not given in English, it should not be given at all. It is evident in the circumstance that the quest is not for knowledge after all; it is first and foremost a quest for English. Post-primary education cannot, must not, be given in Kiswahili even if that is the more effective language of instruction.

Proponents of using Kiswahili as the medium of instruction throughout the educational system have time and again argued for complete reversal of the current policy (Batibo 1995; Bgoya 1992, 2001; Brock-Utne 2000, 2002, 2007, 2009; Galabawa 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Puja 2003; Qorro 2002, 2009; Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997). Some have proposed as a compromise giving teachers and students the option of using Kiswahili as language of instruction and/or allowing those students who would prefer to write their examinations in Kiswahili to do so. That has categorically been rejected. In all other spheres of national life, be it in politics where multiparty politics was finally allowed, or in the economy where liberalisation of trade has turned our country into a dumping ground of cheap imports of every conceivable commodity, choice is allowed – in fact encouraged – but choice in the language of instruction in post-secondary education is denied and is made illegal.

Forced Foreign Language as Medium of Instruction is a Violation of Basic Rights

Tanzania's constitution makes a distinction between *fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy* and *Basic Rights and Duties*.

- Article 11(2) of the constitution states that “Every person has the right to self education, and every citizen shall be free to pursue education in a field of his/her choice up to the highest level according to his/her merits and ability.”
- Article 11 (3) states that “The Government shall endeavour to ensure that there are equal and adequate opportunities to all persons to enable them to acquire education and vocational training at all levels of schools and other institutions of learning.”
- Article 18(1) in the Rights and Duties, under the Freedom of expression, states that “Every person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and to seek, receive and impart or disseminate information and ideas through any media.”

Violation of this article can be challenged in a court of law while denial of the former, the right to seek education, cannot.

The rationale behind the argument that the right to education is dependent on the economic ability of the state to provide it, which is why it is not justiciable, is understandable and in a limited sense even justifiable. However, because of the importance of education in building the character of individual citizenship and inevitably of the nation, and in equipping them (the individual and the nation) with the intellectual and social/technological competences for productive and dignified existence, the right to education ought to have been given higher priority than it is given by the general character of the constitutional provision in question.

In view of the near denial of education through the imposition of English as language of instruction in secondary and higher educational institutions, one citizen did begin proceedings to sue the government and to seek the courts to rule on the matter.. He sought legal opinion from two well-known lawyers. The two lawyers were of the considered opinion that although the state could have a case to answer, depending on the judge that handled it, the likelihood of winning the case was nil. Such a case could take decades before determination, and it would be too costly for him to pursue. In the meantime, the fact that the matter would be in court could even be used to stop debate on the issue, as once a matter is in court the public is required to resist from discussing it. That would not be in the interest of the plaintiff and certainly not in the interest of the movement to promote Kiswahili as the language of instruction at all levels of education.

The *de facto* Denial of Formal Post-Primary Education

Where the state commands adequate resources to provide education to its citizens, but decides to limit access by imposing a foreign language that the teachers and students do not understand, is this not sufficient reason to hold the state responsible and should this not be justiciable?

If a citizen who is denied “the right to freedom of expression, and to seek, receive and impart and disseminate information...” can seek redress through a court of law, why is the same citizen denied legal redress when he/she is prevented from accessing higher education because the state puts an insurmountable obstacle in the citizen’s way? Is freedom of expression limited to expression of ideas of no higher learning than primary school? Only higher education makes advanced literary, scientific and technical expression possible, and it is higher education that is rightly associated with skills for development in all fields: agriculture, industry, trade, commerce and culture. Limiting access to higher education is limiting freedom of expression at the most critical point.

As a right, education cannot be conditional to learning and mastering a foreign language. Doing so is denial of the right. To develop the argument further, if for a moment, one were to accept mastering a foreign language as a condition for access to post-primary education, the state would have to also state categorically that:

- a) it is not responsible for teaching the foreign language to its students and that the responsibility of acquiring the language was entirely on those who wished to be educated, or that
- b) it would provide adequate conditions and make the requisite provisions to enable the teaching of the foreign language to all its teachers and students to the level that teacher - student communication can be carried out comfortably and creatively. The teaching of the foreign language should also be good enough to allow independent study and comprehension of all the required study texts in the foreign language.

The Tanzania government chooses the ambiguous option – does not say to its citizens: “fend for yourselves and acquire English language proficiency before coming to our secondary schools.” That would be cruel, but in the absence of any alternative people would find their own ways of acquiring it. The only other logical course of action would be to teach English adequately enough so that students could follow instruction in it. Although this is the logical and sensible way, if we absolutely must have English as the language of instruction, the reality is that all attempts in the past, including aid projects by the British government to provide teachers’ books, and even to take Tanzania teachers to UK to learn how to teach English, have failed (Simmonds, et. al 1991).

If the Tanzanian Minister of Education and the British government through the British High Commission want to give it another try; bring English teachers once again from UK (or from other English-speaking countries) to Tanzania they must consider the following facts:

If each primary and secondary school in Tanzania (17,000 and 3,000, respectively) at the very least gets one competent teacher, 20,000 teachers will be required. But to be effective the number of English language teachers would have to be at least two per school, which would mean a total of 40,000. Are there that many English language teachers waiting to be sent to Tanzania? Does the Tanzanian government have the financial resources to hire them at expatriate salaries, provide adequate housing and other benefits to that many teachers? How would Tanzanian teachers react to the differences between their very low salaries and those of expatriates at the same village schools? And all that, in order to prevent Kiswahili from becoming the medium of instruction in Tanzanian schools!

Where Has Cultural Pride Gone?

The late Amir Jamal, respected leader in Tanzania and Mwalimu Nyerere's long time associate, made the following remarks at a seminar in Arusha in 1984:

Fortunately for Tanzanians, culture is a matter of both pride and joy. It is also an integral element of self-respect. This is particularly true of the younger generation on its way to assuming social responsibility. In the coming half century, the language Kiswahili will be seen to have been the most decisive and dominant factor in the process of what one would call the fruiting of culture. In form and content, as well as in its continuing growth, Kiswahili has already demonstrated its capacity for adaptation and absorption as well as its capacity as a source of induction into different subcultures and cultures of different origins. (Development Dialogue, 1984:1-2).

Similar statements about culture and its importance in nation building are seldom heard today. The first generation of leaders were more serious in the struggle against the culture of neo-colonialism and imperialism generally than the current politicians. Popular messages of the anti-colonial struggle, those that resonated most strongly with the people, promised to restore cultural pride and self-respect. African culture had been so denigrated by colonial authorities and missionaries through law and edicts, and through religious sermons and religious teachings that rehabilitation was expected to be an urgent task. Abolition of the racially divided educational system, the decision to make Kiswahili the national language in all government communications and as medium of instruction in primary education, were immediate actions the government took to start building a national culture. Other actions were taken to give Tanzanian citizens a consciousness of being masters of their individual and collective destinies. There were inconsistencies, no doubt,

such as having laws drafted and codified in English (which is still the case), but it was assumed that the process thus begun would continue to evolve.

However, with time the process which started with those bold steps slowed and faltered. Expectations that it would deepen and become far reaching were dashed. Reversing the earlier policies of a systematic and gradual advancement towards education in Kiswahili at all levels, government approved the mushrooming of private English medium primary schools, while refusing to allow Kiswahili medium secondary schools. With the pressure being exerted on parents to enrol their children in English medium schools – because they are better resourced than public schools – it may not be long before the *de facto* language of instruction in Tanzania is English throughout the educational system. Still, however, less than one per cent of primary school children in Tanzania are enrolled in English medium schools.

Publishing in the Light of Policies against Education in African Languages

Discrimination against African languages in education has very negative consequences on publishing, readership and on development of literature in general. Scholarship in African languages cannot develop when African languages are not used in institutions of higher learning and in research institutions. This has direct bearing on the catchment area of graduates who are able to work in publishing houses, particularly in editorial departments. Without strong command of one's own language or the language that one has to work in, as we have seen in the Tanzania case, one cannot be productive in an industry that requires strong language proficiency and extensive knowledge of subject matter of texts to be edited and organised into books. Good editors contribute immensely to authors' works, so much so that it is not unusual for the authors to have their loyalties more connected to the editors than to the publishing houses and to move with their editors to new publishing houses. Without good editors, publishing houses are unlikely to publish good books.

The same thing can be said about readership. Unless reading is developed early at home and at school, it is unlikely to take root and to become a permanent habit. Only properly educated graduates with full command of the language of instruction who really enjoy reading are likely to encourage their children to be avid readers. Those who struggle to read books in order to pass examinations do not read after high school or university and cannot be role models to their children as far as reading is concerned. Reading can be pleasurable and therefore attractive – even addictive – only if one has access to a diversity of interesting books in a language or languages that one understands well. The reality today is that students cannot read books that are written in more than rudimentary English; and because Kiswahili is limited to primary schools serious literature that is above that level does not have a

market and will not develop. The implications here are numerous and onerous. A whole range of professions associated with literature and research, such as translation and interpretation in international organisations (UN, AU, UNESCO, etc.), are effectively closed off to Tanzanians. Even for Kiswahili, Tanzanians fare worse than other less able Kiswahili speakers in the international market place for Kiswahili language experts. This is because the others tend to have the advantage of better all-round education, thanks to more coherent educational language policies in their countries, even if they are not the most enlightened as far as promotion of African languages in education is concerned.

Impact on the Business Side of Publishing

Writing and publishing go where money goes. Because African languages are removed from higher education and from publishing, there are fewer opportunities of financial gain and recognition through local and international prizes for individuals who use African languages in their writing. This is an ongoing and permanent disadvantage.

Indigenous African publishers are to be found in primary school textbook publishing, and even there they are minor players compared to the multinationals. Only a few are active in publishing books for secondary and post-secondary education. They are hardly to be found in tertiary publishing and are effectively non-existent in science, technical and medical publishing.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that foreign multinational publishers continue to dominate publishing in Africa. This is true even in a country like South Africa, where the publishing industry is supposed to be the most developed in all of Sub-Saharan Africa. More than 75 per cent of books sold in South Africa are published by foreign multinational companies. Ownership patterns in the rest of the industry reflect the legacy of apartheid: 15 per cent of book sales originate with white-owned South African publishers, and only 8 per cent come from local black publishing companies.

The Language Issue is at the Centre of the Problem of Publishing in Africa Now and in the Future

It has become fashionable among a section of intellectuals in Africa, echoing Western apologists of colonialism, that Africa cannot and should not go on blaming all that is going wrong on the continent on the past; that is, on colonialism and slavery that preceded it. The mendaciousness of the statement is evident on even the most perfunctory examination of the roots of the problem of publishing in Africa.

Colonial education policy everywhere aimed at producing faithful servants of the colonial regime and policies such as the one on African languages in higher education being discussed is testimony of the success of the colonial policy of denigration of African languages and culture in general.

Ensuring that the ex-colonies remained in the sphere of influence of the ex-colonial power was part of the equation of granting of independence. In order to facilitate continued economic exploitation, new relations were established using aid as a tool of manipulation and control. Education was especially targeted. Endless streams of advisers, scholarships and study visits for ministers, senior officials down to curriculum developers, book donations, etc. were assembled into an effective arsenal whose results we are witnesses to. The sorry state of publishing in Africa is a direct product of unfavourable sets of circumstances central to which is the rejection by African states of their own languages in delivery of education to their citizens. Financial and other technical limitations in the industry could be solved if the fundamental block were to be removed.

Given the long period in which opportunities have been squandered and strong interest groups have planted their roots, correcting the situation would of necessity be a gigantic and revolutionary task, and like all revolutions there would be winners and losers. However, in the end education of the African masses and a vibrant publishing industry underpinning it would be the winners. The development process in all fields would have a chance to start.

What Is to Be Done? What is to Be the Role of Publishers?

So far the struggle for using African languages in education has been waged by academics and mostly through research, discussions and debates at conferences and seminars. Some of these debates have been carried out in newspapers, radio and television (Galabawa 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, Qorro 2002, Brock-Utne 2003). This was an important first step, and it must continue. It is, however, evident now that this struggle must be extended to the political arena. Allies must be found and cultivated in civil society organisations, political parties, in parliaments and in other government departments. Voices are being heard in the judiciary in Tanzania, with some judges questioning the wisdom and implications on justice of having the laws of the country in English notwithstanding the lack of knowledge of English of those for whom the laws are meant.⁹³ Currently, parliamentary bills are debated in Swahili although they are drafted in English and remain on the statute books in English. The level of knowledge of English of the overwhelming majority of parliamentarians

⁹³ See Haroub Othman's article in this volume as well as the recent book by Mr. Justice C. J. Bwana (2008) *Haki, Amani na Maendeleo Tanzania: Nafasi na Wajibu wa Mahakama Tanzania* in which on page 26 he compares the situation before 1965 in the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania where the mass was celebrated in Latin and asks the question "Who, apart from the priests, understood what was being said in Latin?"

is either too low to be functional or non-existent. In 2008, a fierce debate raged in Parliament with parliamentarians wanting to scrutinise all major investment contracts between investors and government, as a result of bad contracts that have caused the country huge losses. But even if those contracts were to be made available to them, unless they were translated into Kiswahili, they might just as well not have been provided. Ordinary English is difficult enough; that of legal documents is even more so, and the government would be able to pull wool over the Parliamentarians' eyes using technical legal jargon. What is required is for the bills to be drafted and presented in the official language of Parliament, which is Kiswahili, and translated for the foreign investors into English.

Reclaiming Kiswahili as the Language of All Official Communication

This and other calls for reclaiming Kiswahili as the language of all official communication at all levels is a very positive development. There is need to harness this into a strong movement that will eventually force government to comply with the true interest of the majority of the Tanzanian population. The demand should be for government to embark on creating conditions such as financing large-scale writing and translation projects to ensure that all the basic books and other publications for schools at all levels will be available when the decision to use Kiswahili as the medium of instruction is introduced. This movement should involve students at all levels, because they are the direct victims of the present crisis in education and are at the same time often confused about the correct position to take on the question, with a substantial percentage of them defending the English language policy. The level of knowledge of English is so low that they take the mistakes they learned for the correct language.

Commissioning Authors to Write the Required Books

Publishers are first and foremost business people. They invest their money in publishing books in expectation of fair return on their investment. But for this very reason, they would not hesitate to make the same investment in commissioning authors to write the required books in the required language as long as they knew that they stood to make profits from the sale of those books. Furthermore, like all business people in our countries, there are those publishers who perform traditional functions of a comprador class, who are happy to do the bidding of multinationals including exploiting their people as long as they are paid well. The bigger the amount to be siphoned out the bigger their commissions. Those will resist change. But there are nationalists too, who genuinely want to see the industry work for the betterment of the nation. Those will make their contribution to the voices for change and will even be prepared to risk investing in textbooks in Kiswahili for secondary and post secondary education as long as there is a fair chance that they will eventually make a profit.

A Coalition of People is Needed

The necessity for building a grand coalition of all people who are presently engaged in this struggle in relative isolation, is an urgent task. International solidarity, no less than the one that coalesced around the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movement, is necessary and equally urgent. There are immediate steps, which need to be taken in order to start preparing books in African languages for education at all levels. There are many but not insurmountable problems, solutions which require financial and human resources. Initially, publications of bilingual editions of popular textbooks would be of strategic importance. I believe those books would be popular with students who have to struggle to memorise texts because they cannot read and think for themselves given the language problem. At the same time an abundance of such books would refute the state's claims that there are no books and therefore there can be no change of policy.

An assessment of immediate and long-term needs of textbooks should be the first step. This, incidentally, would not be the first time in Tanzania that such an exercise was done. When in the early seventies the plan was for starting to use Kiswahili in secondary schools by the middle of that decade, the Institute of Education carried out this exercise and not only identified the books that needed writing or translation; it went further and prepared realistic cost estimates of the work and the product.

The work did not begin because of a reversal of policy and abandonment of the plan. Had it been pursued, today Tanzania would have been far ahead of where it is now, not only in education but in other fields, going by experiences of other countries that switched from using foreign languages to using their own. Indeed a study of the history of the development of the English language would be the best example of a so-called barbaric language becoming what it has become, only because rebel clerics and publishers decided to write and publish for the ordinary people.

Conclusion

Denial of the right to education, as well as violation of the right to receive and impart information, are the outcomes of the policy of using foreign languages as mediums of instruction in African schools. On that count alone, struggles should be waged to remove this obstacle to learning and teaching. In the final analysis, this struggle is fundamentally political and cultural, and it must be waged on these and other fronts. A grand coalition of individuals and institutions prepared to struggle to give education to citizens in their own languages is an urgent task. Publishing in the 21st century will remain stunted unless it is liberated from the shackles of small print runs because education is limited to a few chosen people who are able to master the foreign languages in which meaningful and permanent education is given. Success of these struggles will give back African youth the hearth from which their peoples'

stories will be told and their future charted. That is what African publishing should strive to do in the new century: publish for the people in their own languages.

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THE ICT LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA'S HIGHER EDUCATION

By Torill Aagot Halvorsen

As long as English is the language of instruction in higher education in Tanzania, Kiswahili will always be inferior. Our mindsets are so colonized that we allow this disparity to develop (Respondent, UDSM 2008).

Introduction

For many years, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) has experienced increasing problems when it comes to students' communication and study skills in English which is the official language of instruction (LOI). The two major concerns have, according to Ishumi et al (2003: 4) been *failing levels of study skills* and a *falling proficiency level in the language medium of instruction*. These problems have been and continue to be such a subject of serious concern that they require urgent attention for remedy according to a report commissioned by the Chief Academic Officer at the UDSM. (Ishumi et al 2003: 4). In 2008, it was confirmed that the situation was even worse than five years before and nothing had been done to improve the situation (interviews 2008⁹⁴).

One of the main arguments used in order to maintain English as LOI, is to prepare the students for the entry into new technology. The UDSM reports of 1999 and 2004 both deplore the low proficiency level of students in English and note that switching to Kiswahili as LOI would benefit the students. They still argue against this proposition as they claim that the use of Kiswahili as LOI would be a disadvantage for students in a modern, globalised world dependent on ICT.

Educational language choice in Africa is a political issue repeatedly identified and discussed by many educational researchers from all over the world.⁹⁵ In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the lingua franca. At the UDSM academic dialogue, debates and formal relations are often performed in Kiswahili (see Brock-Utne 2000, 2005). My experience from the UDSM is that everyone, staff and students, speak Kiswahili on campus. As an example of the language in use, I recall an academic seminar during my pilot project in December 2006: Most of the audience of professors, research fellows, board members of the university and representatives from the Ministry of Education were inactive when the performance and discussions were conducted in English. I noted that six of sixty participants or 10 per cent were dozing or actually fell asleep. One of the participants presented his whole paper in Kiswahili,

⁹⁴ Interviews conducted by me as part of my Ph.D. thesis.

⁹⁵ See the sections on Language of instruction in Africa and in India and Sri Lanka in this volume

however, and got a much more attentive audience. After some time participants switched totally into using Kiswahili as the language of discussion. The change in the audience was dramatic. Now the audience was lively and participating, none was asleep, everybody was attentive and eager.

In spite of the fact that Kiswahili is the language both professors and students communicate best in, English is still the language in which nearly all lectures are supposed to be conducted.

My ICT Research Project

Through my research project *ICT and Language in Higher Education in Tanzania* I have learnt that ICT- devices and programs in Kiswahili do indeed exist and are continually being developed. Consequently there is no reason why Kiswahili should not be a useful medium in gaining digital proficiency. ICT might be a valuable tool able to vitalise Kiswahili through internet and offline practices. The project started with a pilot project in December 2006 and continued with the main data collection in October – December 2008.

In this article I will focus on the concept *digital literacy*, give a retrospective glance at the notion and describe what it implies to be *digitally literate*. Referring to research theories and students practices I suggest that being able to study in a familiar language eases the progress of gaining computer skills and developing digital competency. Mutual influence between the use of ICT and the use of Kiswahili might be a rewarding interaction and is likely to encourage and promote the language. The statement is without any disparagement of the English language. English is an important language to master in cross-national communication and information, but I question the belief that it needs to be a language of instruction. Referring to research and practices in many countries around the world, English proficiency is best achieved taught as a foreign language subject. The research I have conducted so far shows the assumptions of the UDSM reports that English as the LOI is a prerequisite to obtain digital literacy to be incorrect.

Digital Literacy – a Retrospective Glance

So what is digital literacy? What does the concept imply and what does it mean to be digitally literate? There is a whole range of definitions of digital literacy and literacies connected to the digital field. We have expression like *information literacy*, *communication literacy*, *network literacy*, *computer literacy* and *ICT literacy*. There is also a discourse in the field around concepts like *literacy*, *skills*, *proficiency*, *competence* and what these notions imply. I do not intend here to delve deeply into this discourse, but rather to depict how the concept of digital literacy has developed over the past

25 years. This picture will suffice to serve as a backdrop to our discussion on *the language in which digital literacy might be developed*.

From the late 1960's the concepts of *Computer - , IT - or ICT literacy* were identified and the development of this type of literacy was described as following the three following phases (Martin 2003):

- The Mastery Phase

The Mastery phase was defined to comprise a minimal set of skills that would enable the user to operate effectively with software tools, or in performing basic information recovery tasks. It was a functional definition which specified basic skills that were required to undertake particular operations.

- The Application Phase

The application phase was the next step dated from the mid-1980s to late-1990s and was defined at two levels:

1. Understanding of common ICT terminology in order to use basic features of software tools as word processor and spread sheets, ability to save data, copy and paste, manage files and standardise formats within documents.
2. Ability to operate search engines and data bases, and more advanced use of software tools.

- The Reflective Phase

The reflective phase was the next stage of development and is the one which still dominates. The ideas of this stage started to grow in late-1990s, are still cultivated and are based on awareness; a need for more critical, evaluative and reflective approaches to the use of ICT. We will keep our attention to the reflective phase further and see how it connects to the language issue.

Reflection Becomes a Part of the Concept

Reflection, particularly on the content of the information ICT users encounter, is an essential part of being digitally literate. The European Commission describes *digital literacy* as the "awareness, attitude and ability to identify, integrate, evaluate, analyze and create digital resources, construct new knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others in the context of specific life situations, in order to enable constructive social action; and to reflect upon this process" (DigEuLit 2006).⁹⁶ Bettina Fabos (2004:95) argues that *rather than seeking to determine the true facts*, students need to understand *how political, economic, and social context shapes all texts, how all texts can be adapted for different social purposes and how no text is neutral*.

⁹⁶ DigEuLit project European Commission. http://www.elearningeuropa.info/directory/index.php?page=docanddoc_id=6007anddoclng=6 Accessed 8 August 2008.

David Buckingham (2008) adds that digital literacy encompasses the user's ability to avoid a deterministic attitude and know that ICT and internet are not neutral tools, but systems of representation (language, rhetoric and grammar) produced by powerful institutions.

ICT can be a medium shaped to benefit the user's own interests. The prerequisite for being digitally literate in a reflective sense is the users' own activity, active participation and critical outlook.

Peter Lor (2006: 13) whose research has a focus on the progress of ICT in African countries puts it in this way: *Knowledge and Information Society only dawns in a country when its scholars are not merely users of imported knowledge, but contribute themselves to knowledge creation. This implies active participation. Creators and users are two roles of the same individuals.*

Ola Erstad (2005) articulates that literacy has to be founded in each individual's life world. The concept encompasses how skills, qualifications and knowledge are put into practice in the individual's culture. *Digital literacy indicates an integrated holistic approach enabling the user to reflect on how ICT influences different qualifications like communicative competence, social competence and students' critical attitudes* (ibid.:148, my translation). As Erstad argues, it is important to recognise digital literacy as interwoven in social and cultural practices, consequently the concept is more dynamic than only measuring certain skills (ibid:135).

This retrospective glance at the concept, tells us that the definition of digital literacy gradually has moved from a listing of purely technical skills to be mastered, through focus on the usage, towards reflection. The process can be described as a progression from the impersonal to the personal, linked to each individual's identity and growth. Digital literacy in its reflective phase is closely linked to each person's language competency. The essential question now becomes: In whose language are these skills, insights, awareness and active participation best achieved and performed?

Language and Digital Literacy

According to several ICT researchers the mastery of language plays an essential part in developing a reflective digital literacy (Erstad 2005, Street 1995, Warschauer 1999).

Ivar Frønes (2002) in his theory on students' language use connected to the use of ICT distinguishes two key concepts: *Basic Competence* and *User Competence*. Whereas, the *User Competence in ICT* indicates the level of technical skills, using the computer, its software and artefacts to navigate and collect information, the theory of *Basic Competence* according to Frønes (2002: 101) implies - *written and oral ability to express oneself in a language familiar to the learner*. – A high mastery of

the language to be used will, according to Frønes, facilitate a deep understanding of the subjects and allow the student to discuss, be creative and critical in the learning process. According to this thinking cultural competence as well as communication in a familiar language are prerequisites for obtaining basic competence and for the development of digital literacy at the highest level.

According to Frønes' *basic competence* and *user competence* in combination create *digital proficiency*. This ability includes being able to use new technology devices and media in a creative and critical way, managing to navigate the Internet distinguishing trash from quality. Consequently, as we can interpret this theory, before gaining digital proficiency a basic competence is needed. This competence is best achieved through a familiar language which gives the student the optimal chance to be a participating user. A familiar language in combination with ICT generates digital literacy or digital proficiency. Transferring Frønes' perspectives to the Tanzanian context; proficiency in Kiswahili will enable students to achieve a good point of departure to reach digital competence. The idea of *basic competence* will in Tanzania involve written and oral Kiswahili competence. According to the theory presented, learning ICT proficiency conducted and instructed in Kiswahili will be the basic skills to create a better *user competence* in managing ICT as a learning tool.

LOI Connected to ICT at the UDSM

We have pointed out that there is a considerable consensus among researchers that language is an essential ingredient in being digitally literate and that digital literacy can best be achieved through a familiar language as medium of instruction.

With this assumption in mind, it was with great puzzlement I approached the field of the pilot research at the University of Dar es Salaam in November 2006. I saw that the policies and practices were confusing and contradictory. ICT was used specifically as the argument to keep a foreign language as the medium of teaching. Returning two years later I learned that the language situation had deteriorated in the sense that students' mastery of English was even poorer than two years earlier. On the other hand, I saw greater enthusiasm among students when it came to using Kiswahili as the ICT language.

UDSM Reports on the Language of Instruction and ICT

As pointed out in the introduction, several reports published by the university itself have revealed that many students' unsuccessful achievements are often related to language problems. The UDSM report called Academic Audit (UDSM 1999: 8) points out the problems students encounter having English as the LOI:

The traditionally strong and enforced medium of teaching and instruction – the English language – is fast deteriorating among university students. Except possibly in reading written material, students do exhibit problems of speaking, writing and self-expression in this particular language.

Instead of taking the logical consequences of the investigation and switch to the use of Kiswahili as the LOI, the report suggests keeping English as the language of instruction, because English is the ICT-language! They recommend:

But judging from the current and projected trends and the fact that English is fast becoming the ICT language globally, UDSM should continue to use English as the medium of instruction (UDSM 1999: 29).

Another UDSM (2004) report, the *Tracer Studies in a Quest for Academic Improvement* also establishes the students' language difficulties. At the same time the report again asserts that Kiswahili as an LOI would impede the progress of the students in a modern, globalised world dependent on ICT. The studies further point out students' deficient digital skills, however. This argumentation reminds me of a circular discussion and running around biting one's own tail. The investigations on students' achievement are carried out every fifth year. Accordingly, the next UDSM survey initiated by the university will be published in 2009. Professor Abel Ishumi has been a key person in the two previous university audits. In an interview⁹⁷ with me as part of my research he held that the situation currently is alarming and actions for improvement are urgent.

ICT Development at UDSM

The notion of English being the only ICT language possible is as widespread as the misconception that only English can be the language of instruction of higher education in Tanzania.

Nevertheless during my recent survey in 2008 conducted among 200 staff and students at the UDSM I learned that a high number of respondents used Kiswahili in most of their communication through computers, as e-mails, chat, other forms of collaboration and cell phones. Many of the lecturers and students read more and write more Kiswahili now than before they started using the internet. Websites in Kiswahili have been escalating in the last years, newspapers, dictionaries and freeware are downloadable from the internet.

Software and ICT- devices in Kiswahili are also increasing. Several ICT projects are active at the UDSM and there are ongoing collaborations between the Institute of Kiswahili Research, Department of Kiswahili and the Department of Computer Science in creating ICT content and software in Kiswahili. A preliminary review of my 2008 research indicates that UDSM students with more ICT experience show

⁹⁷ Interview at the UDSM 4 November 2008.

enthusiasm towards and are active in using Kiswahili ICT devices. They also tend to use Kiswahili as ICT language more than students with less ICT experience.

Software programs like Word, Excel, Outlook and Power Point all exist in Kiswahili. I personally installed these on several computers. The lecturers were excited though they at first had difficulties understanding the different commands in Kiswahili, being used to the technical command names only in English. This is understandable. ICT has its own technical vocabulary which has to be learnt in any language. It is like any technical vocabulary which will only be learnt through use.

If these assumptions are signs of future trends; indicating that increased use of ICT in a Tanzanian context can lead to increased use of Kiswahili, it is reason to be optimistic.

Keeping Kiswahili Inferior to English

There is neither political will to change the language of instruction into Kiswahili nor any political will to develop the educational system in this country (UDSM respondent 2008).

The ICT tools in Kiswahili are available to staff and students, but as long as English is the LOI many are reluctant to make Kiswahili their ICT language. It is difficult to understand the reason for keeping English as the LOI in higher education in Tanzania when research and reports repeatedly uncover the student's increasing learning problems related to the use of an unfamiliar language as the language of instruction. Assuming the leaders possess the knowledge of their own reports, they will know that teaching philosophy, biology or management in insufficient English, will *neither* bring on proficiency in philosophy, biology, management *nor* proficiency in English. All in all, the language situation in higher education has led to a decrease in educational quality, depriving Tanzanian students of the knowledge they are entitled to. An opportune question to ask is: Who will profit by keeping Kiswahili inferior to English? Is there an English-speaking elite protecting its privileges preserving the gap between rich and poor in Tanzania or is there just an inability to act? Whichever reason, the consequences are deploring.

What is needed to bring on a change to improve the language situation in higher education in Tanzania? The arguments for keeping English as the LOI are shrinking, including, as my research shows, the one of ICT.

In the previous paragraphs I have discussed the position of a familiar language in order to develop digital literacy. I have pointed out the relation between the use of computers and the use of a familiar language, posing the question whether English as a language of instruction is a prerequisite to obtain digital literacy. Given the theories on digital literacy and language presented here, the answer is negative.

Using *a modern, globalised world dependent on ICT* (UDSM 2004) as an argument in order to maintain English as LOI, is a paradox and not in accordance with recent research and the development of the digital literacy concept involving a critical and reflective perspective.

On the contrary; using English may prevent students from achieving digital literacy as described by researchers presented in this paper. Realising that language plays an essential part in shaping individuals identity and mastery of subject matter (Brock-Utne 2000, 2005, Prah 2005) there is little doubt that active participation, critical reflection, creative production and awareness when using computers and internet is better performed when having the basic ICT skills developed in a language familiar to students. Likewise, ICT can hardly contribute to develop Tanzania when computer skills are adopted in English.

Like Kwesi Kwaa Prah writes in his article in this section of the book former colonial language is dominating the internet, but that does not and should not prevent other languages from playing a part in using and developing ICT. There is no monopoly pronounced at the www and each and everyone, if competent, can take part in the expansion in whichever language they prefer. ICT has the potential for transforming and expanding the use of Kiswahili, and it is likely that in time ICT can vitalise the African languages. My research of 2008 demonstrates that a growing number of Kiswahili ICT users join in *active participation* and ... *contribute themselves to knowledge creation*. Let them be encouraged to use their own language and not discouraged as if this is a battle between “David and Goliath”. It isn’t. There are potentials here having to do with the spread of African languages as written languages through the new information technology.

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Language is a tool used to express thoughts, to hide thoughts or to hide lack of thoughts. It is often a means of domination. The question is who has the power to define the world around us.

This book demonstrates how language is being manipulated to form the minds of listeners or readers. Innocent words may be used to conceal a reality which people would have reacted to had the phenomena been described in a straightforward manner. The nice and innocent concept "cost-sharing", which leads our thoughts to communal sharing and solidarity, may actually imply privatization. The false belief that the best way to learn a foreign language is to have it as a language of instruction actually becomes a strategy for stupidification of African pupils.

In this book 33 independent experts from 16 countries in the North and the South show how language may be used to legitimize war-making, promote Northern interests in the field of development and retain colonial speech as languages of instruction, languages of the courts and in politics.

The book has been edited by two Norwegians: Birgit Brock-Utne is a professor at the University of Oslo and a consultant in education and development. From 1987 until 1992 she was a professor at the University of Dar es Salaam. Gunnar Garbo, author and journalist and former member of the Norwegian Parliament, was the Norwegian Ambassador to Tanzania from 1987 to 1992.



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